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# fifth estate

*Today could be the last day of the rest of your life.*

Vol. 17 No. 1 (308)

January 19, 1982

## WEATHER REPORT

Fire storms and 500 to 1000 mile-per-hour winds throughout the northern hemisphere, radiation clouds and fallout, blinding and burning sunlight from collapse of the ozone layer, disruption of tides and normal weather patterns, earthquakes, extinction of plant and animal species.

50 cents

# NUCLEAR WAR ERUPTS!



# MILLIONS DEAD IN WAKE OF ALL-OUT WAR

UPI—The dream of "containment" of a limited nuclear exchange to the European theater collapsed utterly today when the Reagan administration's demonstration airburst over the Baltic Sea touched off a rapidly-escalating series of events which culminated in all-out nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the West.

In a matter of hours, the most devastating war in human history was over, leaving at least one hundred million dead and effectively rendering the northern hemisphere of the planet a radioactive wasteland.

In the course of the three-hour exchange

every population center in the U.S., Europe and the U.S.S.R. with more than 50,000 people was struck by at least one warhead. Most major cities (in particular national capitals), industrial centers and military facilities were struck by several, each raining the explosive force of several million tons of TNT onto its target. At this hour, firestorms rage across the hemisphere and five thousand years of civilization lie in ruins.

The war began as a confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over the latter's increasingly bellicose threats to intervene in the bloody border dispute be-

tween its satellite East Germany and NATO-aligned West Germany. Refusing to heed U.S. warnings, Soviet troops continued to perform provocative "exercises" in East Germany, spurring the Reagan administration's "demonstration" explosion of a one megaton warhead over the waters of the Baltic. Nervous Soviet leaders, aware of the recently developed U.S. counterforce policy which posits the possibility of winning a limited nuclear exchange if Soviet weapons can be destroyed in their silos by an undetected first strike attack, placed the entire Soviet nuclear force on "fire on

warning" status. This hair-trigger arrangement turned the decision to launch a possible counterattack over to an elaborate, computer-controlled early warning system which the Soviets had recently installed in response to accelerated U.S. efforts to develop a first strike capability.

Early this morning, responding to a radar warning of missile attack from the West, the Soviet computers, with only 17 minutes before arrival of the enemy missiles, launched essentially the entire ground-based Soviet nuclear force at the West. Stunned decision makers in the U.S., now confronted with only 17 minutes themselves in which to decide the fate of the world, concluded they had no choice but to launch lest their own missiles be destroyed in their silos, robbing the nation of adequate capacity for retaliation.

"The irony of it," said Secretary of State Alexander Haig later from the safety of the airborne command center "Phoenix," "is that we didn't launch that first attack. This is not to say we weren't going to, but as of that particular moment, no decision to launch had been made. The whole damn thing was set off by a goddamn Soviet computer error!"

Computer error or not, it would seem

no exaggeration at this point to say that, as unprecedented as today's destruction has been, it is really only the beginning. Already, huge clouds of radioactive fallout are carrying the devastation into those areas which somehow avoided direct hits. Soon, uncontaminated food and water will be all but non-existent, despoiled by radiation or the uncontrollable spread of contagious disease fostered by the millions of decaying corpses which escaped vaporization in the attacks. Since most medical facilities, like most doctors, were concentrated in large cities, even the idea of medical help for the injured and dying, who themselves number in the millions, is out of the question (though even if every medical facility had remained intact it would have made little difference, given the awesome numbers of injured).

Beyond even this devastation lies the incalculable damage done to the ozone layers of the planet's atmosphere. The crucial function that these layers perform in filtering out ultra-violet light literally makes life as we know it on this planet possible, and it is probable that sufficient damage has been done to them to render the planet

Continued on Page 94

## MILLION REFUSE REGISTRATION Draft Law at Standstill

Faced with upwards of a million men who have refused to register for the draft, President Reagan announced on Dec. 10, a halt to prosecutions scheduled in the cases of 161 resisters. This means that currently there are no legal sanctions for failing to comply with the Selective Service Act provisions and hopefully it will impel hundreds of thousands of additional young men to refuse to have any part of the U.S. war machine.

The Reagan decision comes in the face of the massive refusal of compliance with the Selective Service System (SSS)—estimated even by the government to be 25% of those required and even higher by anti-draft activists. The 161 cases that were scheduled for prosecution were almost all men who had made their protests public with the government admitting that it has very little way of identifying who the huge bulk of remaining uncooperators are.

The suspension of prosecutions by the

### Protests Set If Draft Arrests Occur

**TDA**—The Day After—is a contingency plan to mobilize nation-wide protest demonstrations the day following the announcement of the indictment of any draft resister. Devised by the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) and other peace groups, public protests will be held at designated locations in each city. In Detroit, people will assemble at the Federal Court Building on Fort Street at 4:00 pm; call 833-8573 for more info.

Reagan administration came right at a point when the anti-draft movement believed they were about to commerce and after a summer of government attempts to intimidate the unregistered into compliance. However, the scheduled indictment of a St. Olaf college student, Scott Asseng, 20, by a Minneapolis grand jury brought about the direct intervention of top White House officials Edwin Meese and Martin Anderson to block the indictment. The reason given was that the President wanted to review the report of the Military Manpower Task Force which will make its recommendations in January regarding re-instatement of the draft.

The National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) hailed the decision at a press conference stating that opposition to conscription had played a major role in the temporary suspension, but warned that prosecutions would very likely be resumed in a coordinated manner once the President receives the task force report. According to sources close to the presidential commission, the paper will recommend that the draft not be reinstated, but that the registration process be continued. It is believed that this will be the signal for the resumption of prosecution of the public protesters which the government is banking on to intimidate others into signing up as required.

However, at this point, the only reason for registering is the active desire to be part of the military mechanism, since even prior to the suspension, it became increasingly

clear that the government has absolutely no way of forcing large numbers of men to comply if they choose not to. The one million non-registrants claimed as the actual number by the anti-draft movement represents double the figure estimated to have avoided the draft during the entire Vietnam war era between 1963 and 1975. Of that number, only 209,517 were identified as evaders, and fewer than one percent of those ever went to prison.

Continued on page 11

### Registration Continued By Reagan

**FLASH!** Just as we were going to press Jan. 8, President Reagan ordered the continuation of draft registration and offered a "grace period" for signing up of the more than one million men who have failed to comply with the law.

Although this is a complete reversal of his campaign promises (lies), the president said he was accepting the recommendations of his cabinet advisers who said the move was necessitated as a response to the situation in Poland. The president's manpower commission has apparently still not given its recommendations on the draft.

Although it is unclear what is meant by the "grace period," the Justice Department said that it was in the process of "working out" a 30-60 day period in which refusals could register without penalty. However, as it currently stands, the suspension of prosecutions remains in effect and no penalty exists for refusing to register.

**Not if we have anything to say about it.**

## Anti-Nuke Conference March 5,6,7

*The Fifth Estate has joined with a group of people from Detroit's Grinning Duck Club to organize an anti-nuclear war conference at the club in March. Following is the text of the conference's first call for participants. If you would like more information on the conference, please write NUKE FEAR, c/o P.O. Box 02455, Detroit MI 48202 or call (313) 831-6800, 3-5pm. Preparations for the conference are still in the planning stage and weekly meetings are held each Saturday at the Grinning Duck Club, located on the southeast corner of W. Willis & Third Ave., just south of the Wayne State University campus. All individuals invited, but no political parties need apply. Meetings are at 1:00 p.m.*

The future leaders of the superpowers have planned for us amounts to the growing inevitability of nuclear confrontation—and that means nuclear annihilation. The burgeoning myths of "winnable," "limited" nuclear war, of "first strike capability" with 20 million "acceptable losses," coupled with a resurgence of cold war hostilities and a whole new generation of super-sophisticated "delivery systems."

nuclear war a near-certainty in this

decade—if this insanity goes unreversed. Fortunately, as recent huge demonstrations throughout Europe have shown, the re-emergence of widespread resistance to nuclear holocaust is well under way. We would like to become part of this movement and we would like you to join us.

We are planning an anti-nuclear war conference for the weekend of March 5, 6, 7. Continued

# Letters to the Fifth Estate

## Multi- vs. Universe

Dear T. Fulano (and the FE)  
I read your response to the defenders of technology with great trepidation. At every turn I expected you to say: "This is what we need to do: let's dismantle everything and turn the clocks back to 700 A.D. or 500 B.C." I thought you might announce a program that would alienate the people who oppose only parts of technology and oppose it for a variety of reasons; e.g., because they love old, vanishing crafts, because they are Christians, because they are nostalgists, or simply because they are technological incompetents.

But I needn't have been afraid. You affirmed what seems so obvious to me, namely that a critique of technology must not be equipped with a blueprint or program. The very idea of such a thing is a technological idea. The quest for such a blueprint is the quest for a *technique* for subjugating nature, which is alive and kicking, to our wills guided by dead images of nature. To reject technology is to allow the multiverse we're part of to live out its destiny without the oppression by human beings of themselves and all the other beings on this planet, and to reject the thought that this multiverse must be beaten into a universe we can understand and control.

Michael Losonsky  
Rochester, NY

## FE Banksist?

Dear FE.  
I have had an interesting conversation with a local anarchist group on the Berkeley campus recently. Their literature table contained Open Road and Strike but no FE. When I inquired about this oversight, I was informed that they only displayed certain issues of the FE, i.e. those they agreed with. Thus Vol. 15 No. 5 was verboten since they

(n. 1. one who takes the gloomiest view of a situation.) Nonetheless, I find this outlook not only dispiriting but somewhat uninformed. Its "note of despair" is sounded because there isn't much good news as the "crisis looms greater every day."

But in this crisis should we ignore such developments as the unprecedented disrespect for property (growing tax refusal, shoplifting, vandalism, universal employee theft, etc.), the chaos and insubordination in the military, the new refusal of high school, the anti-work/falling productivity "crisis", the non-voting trend? My own efforts in this direction have usually had FE introductions that are little more than disavowals (see preface to "The Promise of the '80's" essay) while the rare staff piece like "Draft Foes Growing" greets the fact of massive non-registration with complete bewilderment. The negative reaction to the general topic in the first place would seem to be the best guarantee that ignorance and surprise is shown in, say, the case of draft refusal.

I do not believe that all contemporary behavior and the apparent shift of values involved represents some purely radical process—endless comments of leftist nitwits notwithstanding—but does a stalwart pessimism allow one to see the real state of society and the movement of opposition within it?

In short, I would be saddened to see any of the extremely capable Detroiters become ideologues/specialists of technology and exclude an awareness of the gathering disarray colliding with technological civilization.

John Zerzan  
Eugene, OR

*Fulano and Brubaker respond: Let us take this opportunity to emphasize that we in no way wanted to give anyone the impression that we consider the anti-technological perspective our "ideological property." The problem of pronouns is a common one in a journalistic project such as this. The use of phrases such as "our critics" and "those who agree with us" was not meant to signify that we own a "position," only to distinguish those who attacked the FE and who defended technology (though it is clear that there is no more a single pro-technology view than there is a single anti-technological perspective), from those like yourself with whom we share a general critique. We (again the pronouns: we are a small group of friends who generally discuss all of the articles that we publish and share many points of agreement but who are far from having a homogeneous outlook) don't think we've come up with anything new (though much of it is new to us). Many others have said these things in many*

## Or Sexist?

Dear Folks,

Isn't it sexist of the Columbia Anarchist to ask for a female Anarchist? Would you print an ad saying we are looking for white anarchists, or we are looking for black anarchists? Wasn't there even any discussion of this?

Mildly disturbed.

Youth International Party  
San Francisco, CA

## Or Optimist?

Dear FE,

Thoughts: Lately I find myself entertaining the idea that the human race's march toward extinction is fine. That despite our potential, the species has developed into a very nasty rigid civilization. I see no signs of it really changing. And perhaps our impact on the earth and other species is so awful that we'd be better off dead. To be able to transcend or get out of all the horrible shit we've created seems daily more insurmountable. The number of people who are seriously attempting to get to the root of the problem is tiny, just plain infinitesimal when compared to the energy (human and mechanical) contained in the mega-machine. The megamachine shows no signs of slowing down, short of annihilation.

Yet I still hear some of you and others who write, speak of "revolution" and a future. Revolution? What can this mean anymore? This word seems the property of leftists to me. Revolution has been the unending march of progress—representing the political arm of the struggle. The uprising of masses of humans to throw off the old leaders and kill one another for the new ones. Humans have been doing this for quite awhile. Why should it change now, in our twilight? In our beautiful crashing suicide jump we are going to suddenly what—fly? I see no future for humans. Revolution is a word with no hope.

If I just consider consciousness—nothing else. Not nukes or oil spills. Not starvation or totalitarianism. Just the weight of consciousness that must change. I can't imagine all that consciousness shifting fast enough and deep enough to transform our trajectory. The internalized authority is thousands of years old by now. It's in our cells. It may be because I've never been inside a revolution and felt how fast things change. But as for most revolutionaries, they make my blood run as cold or actually colder, than regular old rigidified passive fellow beings.

Don't misunderstand. I like humans. I feel sad about us. I try anyway despite my deeper feelings. I plug away looking for connections and communications. I

Having said that let me take vocal exception to your perspective—it almost duplicates the perspective of power that you otherwise criticize in the Sparts, but in fact seems nothing more than the rebound point of view of the spectacle—in other words, for those of us who don't watch TV news your comments are irrelevant.

For example, you touch upon the "grassroots" organizing going on throughout Poland, but then take the view that the Polish workers are being duped by Walesa and his coterie of intellectuals—completely ignoring the strictures placed on him for example by the Solidarity National Commission (this was reported on NPR at least) when he conferred in Warsaw in October and more importantly, the slap on the wrist he got at the Congress as well as the resignations from the Commission.

To refer to Walesa as the Reuther of Poland exhibits your ignorance of the Polish workers and their combativity. A combativity which, we must note, has several sides to it—there is a popular (and maybe increasingly popular) nationalist element that does want to extend the revolution throughout Eastern Europe by simply expelling the party and the Soviet troops (and re-establishing the Church to some faint glory).

Let me stop rambling and try to be concise here—when reviewing events like the Polish one what is the critical perspective? Of course one element is the critique of co-determination in management, but in Poland this critique takes shape and because it does it must be given voice. Another element that must be noted is the effect of the changes so far on the populace—which again is completely absent in your political overview—it is these subjective elements that speak to the response people have toward power—and knowing how the people of Poland have changed their attitudes, damn it, their behavior on every level, in every area would give you a little more optimism regarding the "pawns" in the tri-partite power play. You seem to forget that a real revolution in daily life has occurred in Poland.

BM  
San Francisco

*E.B. Maple replies: Naturally, the content of this debate has been altered dramatically by the imposition of martial law in Poland (see our article elsewhere in this issue), but still let me comment on several criticisms you raise.*

*I know writers always say this in response to critics, but I almost feel like you didn't read our article thoroughly. We emphasized strongly that "an autonomous workers' movement still exists in Poland and is active everywhere" and this point*

that prisons are a worthless and evil institution.

Anyway, I recommend that you all read it, in the hope that perhaps it will in some way mitigate the judgments you have made against us. But you should also know that this thoroughly responsible, comradely piece of work is without question the real source for the charges made in the New West article, contrary to your uninformed "vicious smear campaign" against us and the authors of the New West story. So I would appreciate it if you would let readers know about this book, so they can make up their own minds.

Authors of the Prison Article

*THE FE REPLIES: We are certainly glad to pass on the information about the book you mentioned, but it was at no time mentioned as source material for your article prior to this letter. All of us still feel the New West article is a scurrilous and cynical piece filled with police versions of events and unworthy of citing as a source for serious consideration regarding the question of prisons and inmates.*

*Another reason we edited out your charges against Jackson and Carl Harp is that they seemed to be diversionary from the larger point under examination and that is exactly what has happened—the responses we have seen to your piece seem to increasingly center on a defense of Harp rather than treating the entire subject. Your letter seems to fit that as well—was Jackson an admirable character or not? What if he was; what if he wasn't? How does that deal with the current libertarian prison support groups and the prisoners they and we relate to? Actually, we don't think it does.*

*Also, one other point should be stressed: whatever the character and activity of Jackson and Harp, neither was killed for driven to suicide, as some prefer in the latter case by the prison guards because they perceived him as a pimp and prison gangster in the case of Jackson, or an unrepentant rapist and sniper in the case of Harp, but rather because both were viewed as revolutionaries and troublemakers by the authorities. An irresolvable debate centering on two men dead at the hands of the state seems at best pointless and at worst forestalling discussion on the relationship of those of us on the outside to those on the inside.*

## Origin of a Sign

Dear Folks,

Can anyone remember the origin of the Circle A symbol?

I remember suggesting it in a letter to Stuart Christie in 1974. I thought it was an original idea; but I can't be sure it didn't exist earlier. I felt uncomfortable with a

ter that technology is necessary, etc. FE was also charged with being Banksist, i.e. followers of the line laid down by Dennis Banks and thus pushing a utopian society which would only exist after most of society has been eliminated. My, my.

Best wishes,  
John Walden  
Sacramento, CA

## Or Pessimist?

Dear FE,

The reactions of "T. Fulano" to my letter to the Editor (19/19/81) elicit two general responses from me.

His characterization of pro- and anti-technology positions as "our critics" and "those who agree with us", gave me a very disagreeable sensation of a proprietary attitude toward ideas on his part. Making certain ideas one's private property is an indication of ideology formation.

There just may be individuals who are critical of technology who do not even live in Detroit (!) For example, at the risk of a most uncharacteristic inmodesty, I would mention to Fulano that my "Who Killed Ned Ludd?" (early '76) contained perhaps the first inklings of a critique of industrial technology in FE. As we all know, the dialog belongs to everyone and no one.

Secondly, it is at least consistent that one who would announce that "The human spirit is moribund," would also proclaim himself (herself?) a certifiable pessimist

# fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a co-operative project, published by a group of friends who are in general, but not necessarily complete agreement with the articles herein. Each segment of the paper represents the collective effort of writing, typesetting, lay-out and proofreading.

### \*NOTE ON VOLUME NUMBER\*

Please note that this issue begins Vol. 17 skipping from Vol. 15 in order to have the number correspond to the first year of publication—1965. This probably will only confuse libraries and archivists, but so it goes.



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different ways already — you, writers at Akwesasne Notes, *Ellul*, Marcus Graham, in fact, a whole tradition of poets and rebels back through William Blake and beyond, for example. One can even find a thread of anti-technology in pre-libertarian FE articles. We (not just us two) prefer to keep the dialogue open, see it go through its own transformations, rather than solidifying into a dead, unchanging political position.

Despite your perceptions of Fulano's pessimism as dispiriting and uninformed, we will have to defend it against what seems to be a desperate optimism on your part (notable in your article, "The Promise of the '80s" in the June 1980 issue of the FE). His pessimism about conditions makes no conclusions about their outcome, though it always admits the possibility of real radical transformation. In spite of your dismissal of your critics as "leftist nitwits," we think that it takes a tremendous act of faith on your part to assume that the statistics that you have compiled on increasing alcoholism and drug abuse, acts of gratuitous violence, arson and vandalism, low test scores, work place opposition, etc., signify that a qualitative break with capital is approaching. You show that capitalism is miserable and that resistance—sporadic, isolated, unconscious, even self-destructive—continues to take place against it. Perhaps you could draw "decline of the empire" conclusions from your investigations. But we don't see how you could conclude from such a barrage of statistics that a qualitative break is necessarily forthcoming. After all, some of the statistics you cite as indicative of a "promise," of a radical thrust (e.g. workplace sabotage), are contradicted by other statistics (e.g. rising alcoholism and drug abuse, suicide, etc.) which point only to despair and defeat. Yet you never attempt to draw any conclusions from this contrary "evidence," except to misleadingly imply that this, too, is rebellion, and is joined to more "positive" acts forming an unstoppable wave of radicality. We think this is misleading because while they provide a devastating moral indictment of this society, your statistics cannot be used in a theoretical analysis which would presume to read from "material conditions" a predictive conclusion. The events you cite point to a crisis, perhaps, but they do not indicate what lies beyond it. We must continue to agree with the writer to the introduction to your "Promise" article who expressed "less confidence in the potential results of this decomposition" than you exhibited, stating that "unless rebellious behavior is infused with a conscious desire for revolution, all of the rage, ennui, and disaffection so aptly described will be regrouped in an authoritarian manner . . . ."

The debate on technology appears in the July 1981 and the Nov. 19, 1981 Fifth Estate and are available for 75 each.

I wait, listen and act. And perhaps in this I remind myself of you.

I say "well, there is no logic or reason to a way out. If we get out of this shit, it will be by means beyond the little consciousness I have. It will not make sense, reason dictates a steady march to death." So I'll go outside, it's sunny today and I'll mulch the garden.

Best to all.

Citizen G  
Citizens for a Non-Linear Future  
Seattle, WA

Dear C. G.: Your sentiments are certainly ones that all of us feel at different times, but why elevate them to the level of prediction or a personal philosophy? Just as possible a future could be contained in these words from a leaflet we recently received from Be Free, P.O. Box 1131, Eugene OR 97440: "The shock of freedom works miracles. Nothing can resist it, neither mental illness, remorse, guilt, the feeling of powerlessness, nor the brutalization created by the environment of power. When a water pipe burst in Pavlov's laboratory, not one of the dogs that survived the flood retained the slightest trace of his long conditioning. Could the tidal wave of great social upheavals have less effect on individuals than a burst water pipe on dogs?"

## Or Psychic?

Dear People,

Once again, I am impressed with the consistency of thought in your periodical. I could qualify the "thought", as considered and stripped of "radical" cant. How, in ----'s name did you quote Waleesa from 12-8-81 Newsweek in your Nov. 19, 1981 issue, though?

Mike Cluff  
Berkeley, CA

FE Reply: Thanks for your nice words and your keen eye. Actually, it was a typographical error which caused the confusion; the quote was uttered by Waleesa in 1980.

## On Poland

To the Fifth Estate:

Firstly, let me agree with the overall view that you have of the events in Poland (see FE November 19, 1981, "Solidarity & State Pitted Against Polish Workers") — I have no illusions about the drift there and I'm hardly kind to the "outside" forces pushing events there—that is, to be specific the Pope, the W. German banks and the Comecon network and the "inside" forces, the food shortages (which you fail to mention), the Catholic intellectuals—both nationalist and KOR, and the ministerial mismanagement on all levels.

was repeated several times elsewhere in the article. We tried to illustrate that there was a distinction between the official union organization which was involved in trying to put a brake on independent activity outside of its control and the militant actions of the workers themselves.

We obviously also believe that it is (or was) the unconfined, undisciplined activity of the workers which held the real potential in Poland, but it is foolish to underestimate the role of Waleesa and the union structure's ability to thwart it. The Reuther analogy was not used as a glib insult, but rather to provide a short phrase which attempted to sum up another situation where militant workers who had similarly altered their relationship to conventional authority found themselves shackled to a new set of chains.

If Waleesa didn't become the Reuther of Poland (and don't count him out yet!), it certainly wasn't through a lack of trying. However, the article never asserted that the workers were "pawns," only that there were forces trying to employ them as such.

## Geo. Jackson's Life

Dear F. E. Folks:

We recently read a book published in 1976 entitled *Who Killed George Jackson?*, by Jo Durden Smith, Alfred Knopf, which we would recommend to anyone interested either in Jackson specifically or more generally to the issues we tried to raise (See FE, Dec. 19, 1981, "A Challenge to the Prison Movement"). It was written by an English radical journalist who arrived in the States the day after Jackson died. When he heard the news, it seemed to him as though it was a clear-cut case of the state mowing down a heroic symbol of the revolutionary struggle. The task he set for himself was to prove how they did it.

The author went out, therefore, to build his case. He interviewed in proper, "objective journalist" style, virtually everyone having anything to do with the Jackson case. He talked to most of the top Panther leadership; Jackson's prison comrades; lawyers and legal workers on his case; prison movement white radicals; cops; snitches, including the infamous Louis Tackwood; guards; in short, everyone who had anything to tell about the politics and the events of George Jackson's life.

But the more he found out, the more his own assumptions crumpled, the more elusive the "truth" became. Eventually, he left the Bay Area in terror after several of his left sources informed him that the Panthers had a contract out on his life. And in the end, he raises in much more detailed and eloquent form, many of the doubts we tried to express in our article, with far better documentation than we had available. And like us, he never in the course of his investigation renounced his belief

black flag, as all flags represent states or government, and recommended using an A with a circle around it.

Does anyone remember seeing the symbol previous to 1974? Does anyone remember the first usage of it in the anarchist press?

Love & Anarchy,  
Billy Mick  
San Francisco, CA

## Open Road Broke

Dear Friends,

Open Road is on the verge of bankruptcy. We are running out of money to keep up our monthly loan payments. Open Road No. 13 is ready for publication, but we don't have the funds to publish it. Not only are we in danger of losing our 2nd class mailing permit, but postal rates in Canada are going up 20-50% this spring. We need financial help desperately.

We are well aware that other anarchist groups are facing similar difficulties. We believe that anarchist publications such as Open Road are needed now more than ever. We hope you can help us keep Open Road on the road. Please spread the word that we need help. We'd appreciate any help that you can give.

Love & anarchy,  
Open Road  
Box 6135 Station G  
Vancouver, BC, V6R4G5  
Canada



The words above are what should have shown through a light image of a mushroom cloud on our Nov. 19 cover, but were obscured due to a communication error with our printer. Our disappointment with the results was lightened somewhat when several people told us they thought it was a contest to see if the words could be discerned. Others said that the bomb obliterating our words was appropriate for the matter under discussion.

*Facing West, The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building, Richard Drinnon, New York, New American Library, 1980.*

Richard Drinnon offers documentation of the attitudes and history of people with whom we are sickeningly familiar. He eloquently debunks the heroic myths of frontier life in the U.S. and also exposes the arrogance with which Europeans devastated this continent and beyond, once they reached the Pacific Ocean. Enlightenment ideology furnished the prop for the racism, greed and self-repression which have been part of U.S. history over the centuries. In the twentieth century, imperialist rhetoric has been polished by public relations experts who often obfuscate the real motives of the contemporary politician. This book makes clear the unbroken link with their predecessors who moreover shock us by their open expression of frenzied hatred and moral self-righteousness.

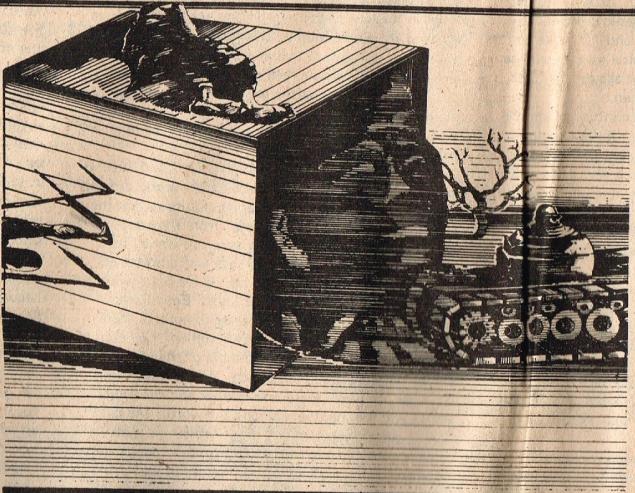
John Endicott, who settled in Massachusetts in 1628, is an early prototype of mainstream America. As head of the Commonwealth he had the opportunity to wreak vengeful punishments on individuals who dared to dissent, however minutely, from his church government.

A nearby community had been founded by another Englishman, Thomas Morton. The practices here were clearly not to the liking of Puritans: Morton and his followers adopted many of the traits of the indigenous people among whom they lived peacefully and with whom they毫不犹豫地 collaborated. Festivals, feasts, celebrations, dancing were cultural elements they brought from Europe and they adapted them to their new surroundings. A Maypole stood prominently at the center of their village. Wearing long hair was among the heathenish practices detested by the somber Saints.

The existence of Morton's community was intolerable to Endicott, and the Puritans' fury led to a raid during which

*The Boy Looked at Johnny: The Obituary of Rock and Roll, Julie Burchill and Tony Parsons, Pluto Press, 1980, London, 96 pp., \$3.50*

That the destructive, cynical orchestration of capitalism encompasses music—makes it industry—should be no revelation. The danger of treating music as a province unto itself is that we are unable then to comprehend its problems except in terms of its "colonization." The further failure to locate music within the context of everyday life only heightens our susceptibility of being victims without insight: the apparent demise of music is per-



## BOOK REVIEWS

the Maypole was cut down personally by Endicott. The Saintly army dispersed the people of Morton's fun-loving community, sent him back to England in irons and burned his settlement.

For the Pequots was reserved a crueler fate—extermination. Defined as "non-people," the most sophisticated technology and military techniques were unleashed on these nearby enticing settlements. Crops were destroyed, whole villages of non-combatants were wiped out in order to demoralize the warriors. Had the Massachusetts Bay army been equipped with napalm and "anti-personnel bullets," it would have used them.

Enlightenment rationalizations served to justify the brutalities required to

subdue the humans, animals and terrain encountered as the frontier moved westward. Thomas Jefferson served as a model for future generations. Drinnon characterizes his attitude as follows:

"In his formative statements of white American liberalism, Jefferson had committed himself to the proposition that all men had a natural right to adult independence. Yet he obviously relished being the omnipotent and omniscient father of red children, and his paternalism had the objective . . . of bringing those not already removed 'entirely in our power.' Like fatherly Prospero in *The Tempest* (1611) he pretended to have no selfish interests of his own and

acted towards his wards only out of his upswelling benevolence. But also like Shakespeare's prefiguration of all the paternal colonizers to come, he in fact indulged hidden psychological cravings for power by keeping Indians in a state of childish dependence. 'Good' children were like the Shawnee Blackhoof, who had resigned himself to the wishes of the white officials and in turn lived off their largess. 'Bad' children were Calibans like Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, who refused to be bribed into perpetual submissiveness. They were the ones who repaid their white father's unfailing kindness with an obstinate defiance that threatened to unmask his possessive domination." (p. 95)

Drinnon points out the ambivalent feelings of some of these intellectual administrators when they glimpsed the uninhibited responses and joyous experiences of the Indians they were sent to "educate." He quotes a revealing passage written by Col. Thomas McKenney who worked for the U.S. Department of War under the notorious Lewis Cass and who was sent to Lake Superior to negotiate a treaty with the Ojibwas in 1826. McKenney was disturbed by a ceremonial dance presented as greeting to the commissioners.

"Such a sight presents a wide field for moral reflections; and furnishes a dark foreground to the picture I have just sketched, of the repose, of the peace of the Sabbath! No one can witness such a scene, and look upon bodies of the finest mould, for they are all such, and one especially the most perfect I have ever beheld, and would in Italy be worth its thousands for a model, without feeling anxious for the arrival of the time (but how slow have been its advances!) when all these unmeaning and barbarous customs shall give place to the refinements of civilized life, and the sensual object which led to this, be changed to the nobler one of which their faculties are so manifestly capable."

cannot attribute the downfall of everything to "old tarts disease." Music industry cliché cannot be fobbed-off (or "gobbed-on", as the case may be) as insight. This book may appear as antidote, but its excesses and short-comings undermine its drive. Assumptions leave us wanting. Brass is substituted for homework, myopia for history, nerve for critique.

Judge Roy Bean staked out Pecos; Burchill and Parsons have settled in Pathos. Their opposition to racism, sexism and fascism is laudable and their demand for innocence unsullied is worthy.

## THE FIFTH ESTATE/PAGE NINE

Drinnon comments, "All those naked, 'mahogany colored,' beautifully moving bodies, and that most perfect one especially, shook his rigidity and spurred his anxiety to wrench them out of 'all these unmeaning and barbarous customs.'" And elsewhere: "McKenny must still have felt the stirrings of some faint memory of the lost child in himself as he stood or sat, held stiffly in place by his uniform and a lifetime of repressions, and outwardly disapproved of these physical excesses—and on Sunday, no less!" (pp. 167-168)

Many of the individuals discussed here would be appalled to learn they were chosen as prototypes of Euro-American racism. Jefferson saw himself as an enlightened liberal thinker with generous views toward non-Europeans. He carried out archaeological digs on his plantation, confident that he was recording for posterity facts about a culture soon to be replaced by an obviously superior one. McKenney considered himself "a friend of the Indian" and even adopted a Choctaw ward whom he encouraged to study law. He was later dismayed at his ward's expectation that he should be permitted to practice law—only U.S. citizens were allowed access to this profession and Indians were clearly unfit to be citizens in the American commonwealth.

John Hay was one of the most influential spokesmen for U.S. expansionism. Born in Illinois from "the generations of assault and replacement troops" (among whom A. Lincoln first came to prominence) which had cleared the region of Indians, Drinnon cites excerpts from all periods of Hay's life: as a young man he travelled to Europe. In Vienna, he was appalled by the "endless tide of Polish Jews" in the ghetto:

"These squalid veins and arteries of impoverished and degenerate blood are very fascinating to me. I have never seen a decent person in these alleys or on those slippery stairs. But everywhere stooping, dirty figures in long patched and oily black gabardines . . . A battered soft felt hat crowns the oblique, indolent crafty face, and, what is most offensive of all, a pair of greasy curls dangle in front of the pendulous ears. This coquetry of hideousness is most nauseous. The old Puritan who wrote in *Barebones'* time on the 'unloveliness of love locks' could here have either found full confirmation of his criticism or turned with disgust from his theme." (p. 257)

After marrying the daughter of a millionaire, Hay became a prominent member of the ruling class and parti-





SOME FOOD WE COULD NOT EAT:

# Gift Exchange & the Imagination

I would like to write an economy of the imagination. I assume any "property system" expresses our own spirit—or rather, one of our spirits, for there are many ways to be human and many economies. As we all know, capitalism brings to life and rewards its own particular spirits (aggression, frugality, independence, and so on). My question is, what would be the form of an economy that took the imagination as its model, that was an emanation of the creative spirit?

The approach I have taken to this question might best be introduced by telling how I came to it in the first place. Some years ago I sat in a coffeehouse listening to someone read an exceptionally boring poem. In trying to imagine how or why the poem had come into existence, the phrase "commodity poem" came to mind—as if I had heard the language equivalent to a new Chevrolet. Even at that early

want.)

Second, when you give someone a gift, a feeling bond is set up between the two of you. The sale of commodities leaves no necessary link. Walking into a hardware store and buying a pound of nails doesn't connect you to the clerk in any way—you don't even need to talk to him if you don't want to (which is why commodities are associated with both freedom and alienation). But a gift makes a connection. With many gift exchange situations, the bond is clearly the point—with marriage gifts and with gifts used as peace overtures, for example.

Finally, it must be said that gift exchange has its negative aspects. Given their bonding power, "poisonous" gifts and gifts from evil people must be refused. In a fairy tale, the hero is in trouble if he eats the meal given to him by a witch. More generally, anyone who is supposed to stay "detached" (a judge, for example) shouldn't accept gifts. It is also true that the bonds set up by gift exchange limit our freedom of motion. If a young person wants to leave his or her parents, it's best to stop accepting their gifts because they will only maintain the parent-child connection. As gifts are associated with being connected

to a community, so commodities are associated with both freedom and rootlessness.

In part because of these restrictions, I do not feel that gift exchange is, in the end, the exclusive "economy of the imagination." But it is a necessary part of that economy; the imagination will never come to its full power until we are at home with the gifts of both the inner and the outer world. An elaboration of the nature of gift exchange must, therefore, precede any more qualifying remarks, and it is this elaboration which I begin here.

When you give someone a gift, a feeling bond is set up

When the Puritans first landed in Massachusetts they discovered an Indian custom so curious they felt called upon to find a name for it. In 1767, when Thomas Hutchinson wrote his history of the colony, the term was already an old saying: "An Indian gift."

equivalent to a new Cheviot. Even at that early point I meant "commodity," as opposed to "gift," for my own experience of poetry (both of reading and writing) had been in the nature of a gift: something had come to me unbidden, had altered my life, and left me with a sense of gratitude—a form of "exchange," if you will, clearly unlike what happens to most of us in the marketplace.

I am obviously speaking of gifts in a spiritual sense at this point, but I do not mean to exclude material gifts. For spirits take on bodies and it is in that mixture that we find human liveliness and attraction. Both economic and erotic life bring with them a mixture of excitement, frustration, fascination, and confusion because they must occur where body and spirit mingle, and it is in that union we discover the fullness of the world, or find it missing.

I should add that on a more mundane level my topic has found a source of energy in the situation of my own life. For some years now I have tried to make my way as a poet and a sort of "scholar without institution." Inevitably the money question comes up. You have to pay the rent. All artists, once they have passed their thirtieth birthday, begin to wonder how it is that a man or woman who wishes to live by his gifts is to survive in a land where everything is bought or sold.

These beginnings—the money question for myself and a sense of art as an "exchange" different from the market—became focused for me only after some friends had introduced me to the work that has been done in anthropology on gift exchange as a form of property. In many tribal groups a large proportion of the material wealth circulates as gift and, not surprisingly, such exchange is attended by certain "fruits": people live differently who treat a portion of their wealth as gift. As I read through the ethnography I realized that in describing gift exchange as an economy I might be able to develop the language I needed in order to address the situation of the artist living in a land where market value is the value. At about the same time I began to read all the fairy tales I could find with gifts in them, because the image of what a gift is and does is the same in these tales as it is in the ethnography, but fairy tales tell of gifts in a manner closer to my final concern, the fate of the imagination.

#### Some Characteristics of the Gift Not Addressed Here

I will not be able to fully describe what I mean by "gift" in the space of one essay. I want, therefore, to remark on two or three characteristics of a gift which shall not be addressed here.

One is that gifts mark or act as agents of individual transformation. Gift exchange institutions cluster around times of change: birth, puberty, marriage, sickness, parting, arrival, and death. Sometimes the gift itself actually brings about the change, as if it could pass through a person's body and leave it altered. The best examples are true teachings—times when some person changes our life either directly or through the power of example. Such teachings are not like the schoolbook lessons; they move the soul and we feel gratitude. I think of gratitude as a labor the soul undertakes to effect the transformation after a gift has been received. We work, sometimes for years, until the gift has truly ripened inside us and can be passed along. (Note that gratitude is not the "obligation" we feel when we accept a gift we don't really

**between the two of you. The sale of commodities leaves no necessary link. Walking into a hardware store and buying a pound of nails doesn't connect you to the clerk in any way—you don't even need to talk to him if you don't want to (which is why commodities are associated with both freedom and alienation). But a gift makes a connection.**

# INTRODUCTION

Poet and translator Lewis Hyde has accomplished several distinct things with this article. First of all, by way of traditional (that is, "pre—" or non-capitalist) folk and fairy tales, as well as anthropological observations, he has revealed the origins of many of the commonplaces associated with capitalist social relations—for example, things have always been as they are today (primitive and traditional peoples are just societies of small-scale capitalists each working in his own self interest), a penny saved is a penny earned, you can't have your cake and eat it too, the idea of a "noble savage" is only a modern romantic prejudice, etc. By showing how people—including our ancestors—treat property in a society in which it is not the ruling sign or the axis around which all social relations orbit (indeed, in which present notions of property and wealth do not even apply), he presents a contrast to modern capitalist society which critiques it from a position of affirmation. Whereas many of our discussions of capital have generally implied only a vague sense of the life we envision, his article reveals that many elements are already to be found in our cultural memory. "Folk tales are like the soul's morality plays," he writes, but they are also a key to culture. Hence, he has not only undertaken an "economy of the imagination," but, in a sense, a "political economy" of culture.

It is this notion of an economy of culture which intrigued many of us when we discovered this article. I am not speaking here of the reductionism which results from neatly dividing the social world into "economic base" and cultural "superstructure" which is itself an ideological reflection of the preponderance of capitalist market or business mentality in our own way of looking at social relations. In fact, it is its discussion of so-called economic activities on a non-economic, or cultural and ethical plane, which is so impressive. Hyde has managed to express some fundamental truths about the meaning of capitalist social relations without discussing them in what we understand as strictly economic (or for that matter, anthropological or sociological) terms. In a way which is understood by all, he has revealed what everyone has suspected all along, that capitalism is a voracious toad which devours the spirit and the body of culture, that commodities are dead things that consume us, that the hoarding of gifts and the transformation of nature's fruits into property, that is, into stolen goods, reduces them to dust, just as capital's mad thirst for domination and profit is turning the world into a non-renewable dead thing, dense and poisonous and unyielding. He has described a "property system" which is totally different from our own, and because a property system, as he observes, "expresses our own spirit," his article does not take the form or the language which expresses the spirit of this society. Instead of being an arcane economic dissection of social relations, it takes the form and the spirit of the gift exchange society, the folk tale. The marvel of this article is that it makes clear which form has more power in indicting this society and in eliciting other possibilities beyond it. I couldn't help but think as I read it for the first time that instead of spending years reading economic texts in an attempt to understand capitalism, I should have been reading fairy tales!

I hope that it is clear that I am not seriously discounting the value of economic analysis, only noting that it has limitations which can be surpassed by uncovering the unconscious and popular forms of opposition to capital, to oppression, and to domination, forms which have resided in our traditions for millennia. Reading Lewis Hyde, I cannot help but sense that a break with the forms which capitalist social relations have created will come not from an intellectualized economic explication of the production and circulation of commodities, or certainly not from that alone, but ultimately, from the renewal of a spiritual sensibility which refuses to allow the gift to be reduced to the deadly dimensions of capital. It will be a sensibility which takes generosity as its starting point, which accepts the natural world with the gratitude with which an irreplaceable gift of love is taken, as we take/are taken by our lover, rarer than with the exploitative and mechanistic spirit that characterizes modern industrial society everywhere. This is what we desire. Hyde has demonstrated that it is within our nature and our experience as human beings to accomplish this desire.

—P.Solis

the term was already an old saying: "An Indian gift," he told his readers, "is a proverbial expression signifying a present for which an equivalent return is expected." We still use this, of course, and in an even broader sense. If I am so uncivilized as to ask for the return of a gift I have given, they call me an "Indian giver."

Imagine a scene. The Englishman comes into the Indian lodge. He falls to admiring a clay pipe with feathers tied to the stem. The tribe passes this pipe around for awhile, but sooner or later it is always given away again. So the Indian, as is only polite among his people, responds to the white man's interest by saying, "That's just some stuff we don't need. Please take it. It's a gift." The Englishman is tickled pink. What a nice thing to send back to the British Museum! He takes the pipe home and sets it on the mantelpiece. The next day another Indian happens to visit him and sees the gift which was due to come into his lodge soon. He too is delighted. "Ah!" he says, "the Gift!" and he sticks it in his pouch. In consternation the Englishman invents the phrase "Indian giver" to describe these people with such a low sense of private property. The opposite of this term would be something like "white-man-keeper," or, as we say nowadays, "capitalist," that is, a person whose first reaction to property is to take it out of circulation, to put it in a warehouse or museum, or—more to the point for capitalism—to lay it aside to be used for production.

The Indian giver (the original ones, at any rate) understood a cardinal property of the gift: whatever we are given should be given away again, not kept. Or, if it is kept, something of similar value should move on in its stead, the way a billiard ball may stop when it sends another scurrying across the felt, the momentum transferred. You may hold on to a Christmas gift, but it will cease to be a gift in the true sense unless you have given something else away. When it is passed along, the gift may be given back to the original donor, but this is not essential. In fact, it is better if the gift is not returned, but is given instead to some new, third party. The only essential is this: *the gift must always move*. There are other forms of property that stand still, that mark the place or hold back water, but the gift keeps going. Like a bird that rests on the rising air near cliffs, or water at the lip of the falls, standing still is its restlessness and the ease of the gift is in its motion.

#### Two Forms of Tribal Property: Gifts and Capital

Tribal peoples usually distinguish between two sorts of property, gifts and capital. Commonly they have a law which repeats the sensibility implicit in the idea of an Indian Gift. "One man's gift," they say, "must not be another man's capital." Wendy James, a British social anthropologist, tells us that among the Uduk in northeast Africa, "any wealth transferred from one subclan to another, whether animals, grain or money, is in the nature of a gift, and should be consumed, and not invested for growth. If such transferred wealth is added to the subclan's capital (cattle in this case) and kept for growth and investment, the subclan is regarded as being in an immoral relation of debt to the donors of the original gift." If a pair of goats received as a gift from another subclan is kept to breed or to buy cattle, "there will be general com-

Continued on next page

plaint that the so-and-so's are getting rich at someone else's expense, behaving immorally by hoarding and investing gifts, and therefore being in a state of severe debt. It will be expected that they will soon suffer storm damage...."

The goats in this example move from one clan to another just as the pipe moved from person to person in my fantasy. And what happens then? If the object is a gift, it keeps moving, which, in this case, means that the man who received the goats throws a big party and everyone gets fed. The goats needn't be given back but they surely can't be set aside to produce milk or more goats. And a new note has been added: the feeling that if a gift were not treated as such, if one form of property were to be converted to another, something horrible might happen. In folk tales the person who tries to hold on to a gift usually dies; in this anecdote the risk is "storm damage." (What happens in fact to most tribal groups is worse than storm damage—whenever foreigners show up and convert gift to capital, universally the tribal group is destroyed as a group.)

If we turn now to a folk tale we will be able to see all of this from a different angle. Folk tales are like the soul's morality plays—they address the gift as an image in the psyche. They are told at the boundary between our inner feelings about property and the ways in which we handle it in fact. The first tale I have chosen comes from Scotland. It may seem a bit long so early in our discourse, but almost everything in it will be of use. The tale is called "The Girl and the Dead Man." I have put a few obscurities into modern speech, but other than that, this is how the story was told by a Scottish woman in the mid-nineteenth century:

There was before now a poor woman, and she had a leash of daughters. Said the eldest one of them to her mother, "I had better go and seek for fortune." "I had better," said the mother, "bake a loaf of bread for thee." When the bread was done, her mother said to her, "Which wouldst thou like best, a little bit and my blessing or the big bit and my curse?" "I would rather," said she, "the big bit and thy curse."

She went on her way and when the night was wraithing around her she sat at the foot of a wall to eat the bread. There gathered the ground quail and her twelve puppies, and the little birds of the air about her, for a part of the bread. "Wilt thou give us a part of the bread?" said they. "I won't give it, you ugly brutes; I have not much for myself." "My curse will be thine, and the curse of my twelve birds; and thy mother's curse is the worst of all." She rose and went away, and the bit of bread had not been half enough.

She saw a little house a long way from her; and if a long way from her, she was not long reaching it. She knocked at the door. "Who's there?" "A good maid seeking a master." "We want that," said they, and they let her in.

Her task was to stay awake at night and watch a dead man, the brother of the housewife, whose corpse was restless. She was to have a peck of gold and a peck of silver. Besides this she had, of nuts as she broke, of needles as she lost, of thimbles as she pierced, of thread as she used, of candles as she burned, a bed of green silk over her, a bed of green silk under her, sleeping by day and watching by night. The first night when she was watching she fell asleep; the mistress came in, struck her with a magic club and she fell down dead. She threw her out back in the garbage heap.

Said the middle daughter to her mother, "I had better go seek fortune and follow my sister." Her mother baked her a loaf of bread; and she chose the big half and her mother's curse, as her elder sister did, and it happened to her as it happened to her sister.

Said the youngest daughter to her mother, "I had better go myself and seek fortune too, and follow my sisters." "I had better bake a loaf of bread," said her mother. "Which wouldst thou rather, a little bit and my blessing or the big bit

Love may grow from lust, but not in the stillness of commodity exchange. The consumer of commodities is invited to a meal without passion, a consumption with neither satiation nor fire. Like a guest seduced into feeding on the drippings of someone else's capital without benefit of its inner nourishment, he is always hungry at the end of the meal. . .

A bit of a mystery still remains in the Scottish tale, "The Girl and the Dead Man": Where did the "vessel of cordial" come from? My guess is that it comes from the mother, or from her spirit, at least. The gift not only moves, it moves in a circle. In this tale it circles through the mother and her daughter. The mother gives the bread and the girl gives it in return to the birds whom I place in the realm of the mother, not only because it is a mother bird who addresses her but also because there is a verbal link (the mother has a "leash of daughters," the mother bird has her "puppies"). The vessel of cordial is in the realm of the mother as well (the original Gaelic word means "teat of ichor" or "teat of health": it is a fluid that comes from the breast). The level changes, to be sure—it is a different sort of mother whose breasts hold the blood of the gods—but it is still in the maternal sphere. Structurally, then, the gift moves mother—daughter—mother—daughter. In circling twice in this way the gift itself increases from bread to the water of life, from carnal food to a spiritual food. At that point the circle expands as the girl gives the gift to her sisters to bring them back to life.

The figure of the circle in which the gift moves can be seen more clearly if we turn to a story from ethnography. Gift institutions seem to have been universal among tribal peoples; the few we know the most about are the ones that Western ethnographers [studied] around the turn of the century. One of these is the Kula, the ceremonial gift exchange [of] the Massim tribes, peoples who occupy the South Sea Islands off the eastern tip of New Guinea.

There are a dozen or more groups of islands in the Kula archipelago. They are quite far apart—a circle enclosing the whole group would have a diameter of almost 300 miles. The Kula is (or was 60 years ago) a highly developed gift system conducted throughout the islands. At its heart lies the exchange of two ceremonial gifts, armshells and necklaces. These are passed from household to household, staying with each for a time. So long as one of the gifts is residing in a man's house, Bronislaw Malinowski tells us, the man is able "to draw a great deal of renown, to exhibit this article, to tell how he obtained it, and to plan to whom he is going to give it. And all this forms one of the favourite subjects of tribal conversation and gossip. . . ." Armshells and necklaces are talked about, touched, and used to ward off disease. Like heirlooms, they are pools where feeling and power and history have collected. They are brought out and paraded over just as we might do if we had, say, some fine old carpenter's tools that had been used by our own grandfather, or a pocket watch brought from the old country.

Malinowski calls the Kula articles "ceremonial gifts" because their social use far exceeds their practical use. A friend of mine tells me that the gang he ran with in college continually passed around a deflated basketball. The joke was to get it mysteriously deposited in someone else's room. It seems that the clear uselessness of such objects makes it easier for them to be vehicles for the spirit of the group. My father says that when he was a boy his parents and some good friends passed back and forth, again as a joke, a huge open-ended wrench that had apparently been custom cast to repair a steam shovel. The two families found it one day on a picnic and for years

blessing."

She went on her way and when the night was wretched round her she sat at the foot of a wall to eat the bread. There gathered the ground quail and her twelve puppies, and the little birds of the air about her. "Will thou give us some of that?" "I will give, you pretty creatures, if you will keep me company." She gave them some of the bread; they ate and they had plenty, and she had enough. They clapped their wings about her till she was snug with the warmth.

She went, she saw a little house a long way from her . . . [here the task and the wages are repeated].

She sat to watch the dead man, and she was sewing; in the middle of the night, he rose up and screwed up a grin. "If thou dost not lie down properly, I will give thee the one leathering with a stick." He lay down. After a while he rose on one elbow and screwed up a grin; and a third time he rose up and screwed up a grin.

When he rose the third time she walloped him with the stick. The stick stuck to the dead man and her hand stuck to the stick and off they went! They went forward till they were going through a wood; when it was low for her it was high for him; and when it was high for him it was low for her. The nuts were knocking their eyes out and the wild plums taking her ears off, till they got through the wood. Then they returned home.

She got a peck of gold and a peck of silver and the vessel of cordial. She rubbed the vessel of cordial on her two sisters and brought them alive. They left me sitting here, and if they were well, 'tis well; and if they were not, let them be.

There are at least four gifts in this story. The first, of course, is the bread which the mother gives to her daughters as a going away present. This becomes the second gift when the youngest daughter shares her bread with the birds. She keeps the gift in motion, the moral point of the tale. Several things, in addition to her survival, come to her as a result of treating the gift correctly. These are the fruits of the gift. First, she and the birds are relieved of their hunger. Second, the birds befriend her. And third, she's able to stay awake all night and get the job done. (As we shall see by the end of the essay, these are not accidental results, they are typical fruits of the gift.)

In the morning the third gift appears, the vessel of cordial. It is a healing liquid, not unlike the "water of life" that appears in folk tales from all over the world. It has power: with it she is able to bring her sisters back to life. This liquid is thrown in as a gift for her successful completion of the task. It's a bonus, nowhere mentioned in the wonderful litany of wages offered to each daughter. We will leave for later the question of where it comes from; for now we are looking at what happens to the gift after it is given, and again we find that this girl is no dummy—she moves it right along, giving it to her sisters to bring them back to life. That is the fourth and last gift in the tale.

#### What Happens if the Gift is Not Allowed to Move On

This story also gives us a chance to see what happens if the gift is not allowed to move on. Just as milk will sour in the jug, a gift that is kept still will lose its gift properties. The traditional belief in Wales is that when the fairies give gifts of bread to the poor, the loaves must be eaten that same day or they will turn into toadstools. Some things go rotten when they are no longer treated as a gift.

We may think of the gift as a river and the girl in the tale who treats it correctly does so by allowing herself to be a channel for its current. If we try to dam up the river, one of two things will happen: it will either fill us until we burst or it will seek out another path and stop flowing through us. In this folk tale it is not just the mother's curse that gets the first

two girls. The night birds give them a second chance and one imagines they would not have repeated the curse had they met with generosity. But instead the girls try to dam up the flow, thinking that what counts is ownership and size. The effect is clear: by keeping the gift they get no more. They are no longer vehicles for the stream and they no longer enjoy its fruits, one of which seems to be their own lives, for they end up dead. Their mother's bread has turned to toadstools inside of them.

Another way to describe the motion of the gift is to say that a gift must always be used up, consumed, eaten. *The gift is property that perishes.* Food is one of the most common images for the gift because it is so clear that it is consumed. Even when the gift is not food, when it is something we would think of as durable goods, it is often referred to as a thing to be eaten. Shell necklaces and armbands are the ritual gifts in the Trobriand Islands and, when they are passed from one group to the next, protocol demands that the man who gives them away toss them on the ground and say, "Here, some food we could not eat." Or, again, a man in a different tribe that Wendy James has studied speaks of the money he was given at the marriage of his daughter saying that he will pass it on rather than spend it on himself. Only he puts it this way: "...If I receive money for the children God has given me, I cannot eat it. I must give it to others."

To say that the gift is used up, consumed, and eaten sometimes means that it is truly destroyed as with food, but more simply and accurately it means that the gift perishes for the person who gives it away. In gift exchange the transaction itself consumes the object. This is why durable goods are given in a manner that emphasizes their loss (the Trobriand Islander throws the shells on the ground). A perishable good is a special case and a surer gift because it is sure to be lost.

Now it is true that something often comes back when a gift is given, but if this were made an explicit condition of the exchange it wouldn't be a gift. If the girl in our story had offered to sell the bread to the birds the whole tone would have been different. Instead, she sacrifices it—her mother's gift is dead and gone when it leaves her hand. She no longer controls it; nor has she any contract about repayment. For her, the gift has perished. This then is how we "consume" to speak of a gift—a gift is consumed when it moves from one hand to another with no assurance of anything in return. There is little difference, therefore, between its consumption and its motion. A market exchange has an equilibrium, or stasis: you pay in order to balance the scale. But when you give a gift there is momentum and weight shifts from hand to hand.

I must add one more word on what it is to "consume" because the Western industrial world is known for its "consumer goods" and they are not at all what I mean. Again, the difference is in the form of the exchange, a thing we can feel most concretely in the form of the goods themselves. I remember the time I went to my first rare book fair and saw how the first edition of Thoreau and Whitman and Crane had been carefully packaged in heat-shrunk plastic with the price tags on the inside. Somehow the simple addition of airtight plastic sacs had transformed books from vehicles of liveliness into commodities, like

bread made with chemicals to keep it from perishing. In commodity exchange it's as if the buyer and the seller are both in plastic bags; there's none of the contact of a gift exchange. There is neither motion nor emotion because the whole point is to keep the balance, to make sure the exchange itself doesn't consume anything or involve one person with another. "Consumer goods" are a privatized consuming, not a banquet.

The desire to consume is a kind of lust. We long to have the world flow through us like air or food. We are thirsty and hungry for something that can only be carried inside of bodies. We need it. We want it. But "consumer goods" just bait this lust, they do not satisfy it. They can never, as the gift can, raise lust into a kind of love, an emotional discourse. Love may always grow from lust, but not in the stillness of commodity exchange. The consumer of commodities is invited to a meal without passion, a consumption with neither satiation nor fire. Like a guest seduced into feeding on the drippings of someone else's capital without benefit of its inner nourishment, he is always hungry at the end of the meal, depressed and weary as we all feel when lust has dragged us from the house and led us to nothing.

Gift exchange has many fruits and to the degree that the fruits of the gift can satisfy our needs there will always be pressure for property to be treated as a gift. This pressure, in a sense, is what keeps the gift in motion. When the Udark warn that a storm will ruin the crops if someone tries to stop the gift from moving, it is really their desire for its motion that will bring the storm. A restless hunger springs up when the gift is not being eaten. The Grimm brothers found a short tale they called "The Ungrateful Son."

Once a man and his wife were sitting outside the front door with a roast chicken before them which they were going to eat between them. Then the man saw his old father coming along and quickly took the chicken and hid it, for he begrimed any of it. The old man came, had a drink, and went away.

Now, the son was about to put the roast chicken back on the table, but when he reached for it, it had turned into a big toad that jumped up in his face and stayed there and didn't go away again.

And if anybody tried to take it away, it would give them a poisonous look, as if about to jump in their faces, so that no one dared touch it. And the ungrateful son had to feed the toad every day, otherwise it would eat part of his face. And thus he went ceaselessly hither and yon about in the world.

This toad is the hunger that appears when the gift stops moving, whenever one man's gift becomes another man's capital. To the degree that we desire the fruits of the gift, teeth will appear when it is hidden away. When property is hoarded, thieves and beggars begin to be born to rich men's wives. A story like this says that there is a force seeking to keep the gift in motion. Some property must perish, its preservation is beyond us. We have no choice, or rather, our choice is whether to keep the gift moving or to be eaten by it. We choose between the toad's dumb-lust and that other, graceful perishing in which the gift is eaten with a passion not unlike love.

#### II

The gift is to the giver, and comes back most to him—it cannot fail . . .

Walt Whitman *A Song of the Rolling Earth*

stand, appearing one year fully bronzed and gift-wrapped. If you have not yourself been a part of such an exchange you will easily turn up a story like this by asking around, for these spontaneous exchanges of "useless" gifts are fairly common, though hardly ever developed to the depth and elegance that Malinowski found among the Massim.

#### The Gift Moves in a Circle

The Kula gifts, the armshells and necklaces, move continually around a wide ring of islands in the archipelago. Each travels in a circle, the red shell necklaces moving clockwise and the armshells moving counterclockwise.

A man who participates in the Kula has gift partners in neighboring tribes. If we imagine him facing the center of the circle with partners on his left and right, he will always be receiving armshells from his partner to the left and giving them to the man on his right. The necklaces flow the other way. Of course these things are not actually passed hand over hand; they are carried by canoe from island to island in journeys that require great preparation and cover hundreds of miles.

The two Kula gifts are exchanged for each other. If a man brings me a necklace, I will give him in return some armshells of equivalent value. I may do this right away or I may wait as long as a year (though if I wait that long I will give him a few smaller gifts in the interim to show my good faith). When I have received a gift, I can keep it for a time before I pass it on and initiate a new exchange. As a rule it takes between two and ten years for each article in the Kula to make a full round of the islands.

Because these gifts are exchanged for each other it seems we have already broken the rule against equilibrium that I set out in the first section. But let us look more closely. We should first note that the Kula articles are kept in motion, though this does not necessarily mean there is no equilibrium. Each gift stays with a man for awhile, but if he keeps it too long he will begin to have a reputation for being "slow" and "hard" in the Kula. The gifts "never stop," writes Malinowski. "It seems almost incredible at first, . . . but it is the fact, nevertheless, that no one ever keeps any of the Kula valuables for any length of time. . . . 'Ownership,' therefore, in Kula, is quite a special economic relation. A man who is in the Kula never keeps any article for longer than, say, a year or two." The Trobriand Islanders know what it is to own property, but their sense of possession is wholly different from the European. The "social code" . . . lays down that to possess is to be great, and that wealth is the indispensable appanage of social rank and attribute of personal virtue. But the important point is that with them *to possess is to give* [my emphasis]—and here the natives differ from us notably. A man who owns a thing is naturally expected to share it, to distribute it, to be its trustee and dispenser."

The motion of the Kula gifts does not by itself assure that there will be no equilibrium, for, as we have seen, they move but they are also exchanged. Two ethics, however, govern this exchange and both of them insure that, while there may be a macroscopic equilibrium, at the level of each man there will be the sense of imbalance, of shifting weight, that always

Continued on next page

susceptibility of being victims without insight: the apparent demise of music is perceived only as a particularized self-destruction. The possibility of understanding—much less hope—is tossed over for the vagaries of pity, defeat and despair: we are incapable of locating the negation of this awful prevailing reality.

While music is often painfully tuned to the faults of society, it is also capable of voicing our aspirations for a reality which lies "elsewhere." That such aspirations must survive beneath the feet of herds motivated only by cynical games of greed and power is today an axiomatic redundancy. Only the worst naivete, romanticism or stupidity can suppose that the music industry is somehow, or could be exceptional.

It seems to me that what is most laudable within the punk/new wave is the attempt to break with the ruling cynicism by going "public": spitting in the eye of professionalism and breaking the understood "rules of the game." The genre, has, in many senses, a strong affinity with jazz... another small piece of musical turf where sound, symbol, form and the ritualized code words reflected its position "beneath the underdog." Here, too, one is sensitized to the terrible consequences of racism, sexism, greed, etc.

The wonder is not that any survive this litany of rape, murder and mayhem, but that so many continue to put their asses on the line.

A quick survey of the materials about punk/new wave indicates that intelligent discussion is sorely wanted.

Publication of *The Boy Looked at Johnny* promised to be that discussion. The publisher, Pluto Press, is a British political press with outstanding titles by Victor Serge, John Berger, Dario Po and others. Further, the authors, Parsons and Burchill, are music columnists who have closely observed the development of the punk/new wave movement for years.

Despite the promising credentials, and the promise of being an "obituary" which "blows the lid off rock and roll for the first and last time," *The Boy Looked at Johnny* is a dud. Slapstick is substituted for intelligence and the claims are fatuous blurb material for a thin volume of idiosyncratic tastes and distastes.

At its best the book is highly entertaining low-camp vamp and a super-charged "hip" language assault reminiscent of the better '60's underground journalism. But when we are asked to believe that rock and roll history begins and ends with the super-admired memories of the authors, appearing and receding somewhere between the ages of 13 and 30, we are certainly left wanting.

It may well be the case that Woodstock was a bad joke (gurgling inmates totally dependent on the state), that the MC5 were a superficial hoax, that the music in-



dustry is a peculiar form of incest, that audiences resemble little more than lemming-groups in search of a band to follow, that acid and weed are inferior to speed (the thinking-prole's key to life), and that rock prefers women on their backs.

"We have no illusions," said John Sinclair, probably believing it. Woodstock: "Love nation show of unity; see the movie, buy the triple album!" On to the violence of Altamont and the Stones' philosopher Keith Richards claiming, "People were just asking for it... They had victim's faces." Hells Angels as liberators in Nazi guise. David Bowie, Iggy Pop and Lou Reed ("amateur-hour wimp bands") extolling a smack legacy. Heavy Metal as "epic teutonic anesthetic." Hip Easy Listening: "insipid palliatives for aging hippies." Disco-fodder created by Afro-Toms, a sanitized soul where Tops of the Pops can play "colonial host to a regular stream of nimble-toed melon chompers..." None proves to be anything other than techniques of social order: there is no polemic beyond get-down, boogie and dating do's and don'ts.

If the '60's was little more than an era of duplicity and self-induced myopia, it provided the bass line for the '70's. The Sex Pistols and new wave clubs may have been new, but the drugs, the mistreatment of women, the hucksters running the bands and labels were old stuff.

Pub Rock was supposed to counter all this. It was a worthy attempt to dispose of the opulence and arrogance of those who reigned and controlled. But to the dismay of Burchill and Parsons, Pub Rock was failure.

The Damned was distinctive for taking "gobbing" from the street to the stage. The Jam became the Barry Maguire of Punk. The Stranglers were too preoccupied with their own stunted sex to go beyond lip-service and woman-hating. The Clash are the MC5 revived, touting revolution for fun and profit (theirs), sporting Elvis Presley contracts and an image-making manager making them the first punks to successfully package social disorder as a marketing technique. There are "too many Jews" for Siouxsie Sioux, a fascist flirt. Far too often what applies to the Ramones seems to apply to most punks: an involvement "indicative of nothing more than their utmost contempt for their music, their audience and, justifiably, themselves."

Bent notes, then, but hardly a threat. Punk is rendered anachronism.

One may sympathize or disagree with Burchill and Parsons' various opinions and prefer their aggressive gestures to the anemia trying to pass as criticism. I like

the snappy rhythms of the whip and the searing odor of the branding iron applied to the likes of John Sinclair, Dylan, Iggy Pop, Marianne Faithful, Rolling Stones, Clash, Ramones, Rasta-Nazis, Elvis Costello and the many other deserving. Insofar as bad comedy is often great sport, *The Boy Looked at Johnny* is great stuff. Considering the vast audiences buying the Heavy Metal dross or any shock as a new form of liberation, this book might be useful antidote. Unfortunately the high cost of embarrassing self-recognition will blunt the possible lessons.

Finally, however, the failure rests with Burchill and Parsons. Nothing will make *The Boy*... the "obituary" it wants to be. The polemics are light and as history it stinks. Analysis? It has none. One

*Conspiracy*, Anthony Summers, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1981, 648 pp., \$7.95

In one very crucial way Anthony Summers' fast-paced, exciting account of the plot to assassinate President John Kennedy is redundant: Is there really anyone left who believes that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone assassin who altered history with his shoddy Mannlicher-Carcano carbine in Dallas 18 years ago? As early as the middle-sixties, researchers such as Mark Lane and Sylvia Meagher so effectively decimated the official Warren Commission version of the shooting that all that has appeared since is in many ways only fancier and more elaborate speculations on who done it.

Summers strengthens the findings of the U.S. House Select Committee on Assassinations that at least two gunmen fired at the President, but the bulk of the book's detail is expended on the contention that Kennedy was the victim of a hit masterminded by elements of the CIA manipulating its pawns in the Mafia and anti-Castro movement. Nothing particularly new in that, but Summers does marshal a good deal of evidence to support the theory and it is a refreshing change from the tendency among JFK assassination buffs in recent years to increasingly turn toward Castro or the Russians as the instigators (the latest being a ghoulish expedition which exhumed Oswald's body to determine if his remains were actually those of a Russian double; they weren't).

JFK assassination theories are the granddaddy of the plethora of conspiracy mania so prevalent today that sees a succession of space men, Jews, illuminati, bankers, communists, anti-christs (or a combination of any of the foregoing) as being the *real* power behind our earthly woes. All of it, of course, eliminates the need

for any authentic investigation as to what is *actually* happening to us and how we can extricate ourselves from our current dilemmas. After all, if humanity is pitted against such shadowy and omnipotent foes, what chance do us mere mortals have?

Finally, in honesty I must state that neither at the time of the Dallas shooting nor subsequently have I shed a tear for the wealthy politician who stole his 1960 election and for all of his liberal phrases was a thoroughgoing reactionary who acted as an able statesman for his class.

Please remember it was Kennedy who out-hawked Nixon during the presidential campaign claiming (dishonestly) that the Eisenhower administration had allowed a "missle gap" and called for more nuclear arms; it was he who began our initial major involvement in Vietnam including the first defoliant spraying and use of the Green Berets; it was he who brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction with his bellicose stand on the Cuban missiles; and he who sponsored the Bay of Pigs invasion while his ratty little brother tried to engineer Castro's murder through his Mafia connections.

Bakunin said it well, "Every politician has earned his sentence on the gallows a thousand times over," so when the power-seekers knock each other off for good reasons or for bad, it should be of no concern of those who desire the total elimination of the apparatus which gives them their authority and prominence—the state.

—Ray Partay



After marrying the daughter of a millionaire, Hay became a prominent member of the ruling class and participated in his father-in-law's business empire. The railroad strikes of 1877 distressed him: "The very devil seems to have entered into the lower classes of working men, and there are plenty of scoundrels to encourage them to all lengths." (p. 262)

Some years later he wrote a novel with familiar stereotypes. The civilized protagonist is depicted with a "whole-some" face and with hands "of one delicately bred." The heroine, naturally, was blond, refined and usually dressed in white. The villain was a dark "apostle of labor." What is more, he closely resembled Hay's description of a resident of the Viennese Jewish ghetto, "dark-skinned and unwholesome looking," with an "oleaginous" expression, a mustache "dyed black and profusely oiled," and a face "surmounted by a low and shining forehead covered by reeking black hair, worn rather long," and wearing a black hat and "threadbare clothes, shiny and unctuous." (p. 265)

Hay's subsequent achievement was to effect an alliance between England and the U.S. "To the Royal Society he extolled over the 'bonds of union among the two great branches of our race' and affirmed 'the object of my mission here is to do what I can to draw close the bonds that bind together the two Anglo-Saxon peoples.'" (p. 267)

Immediately following the Spanish-American War, Hay became Secretary of State and had the pleasure of incorporating new "overseas" possessions into U.S. territory. As a famous statesman he articulated the "Open Door" policy which asserted the right of the "civilized" races to extend their domain throughout the

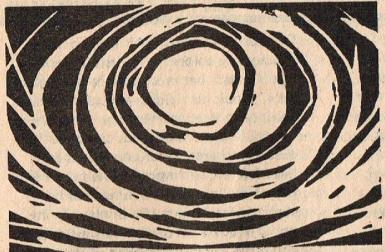
Continued on Page 11

### "Year of the French" Review Continued from page 8

are slaughtered unmercifully on the spot and hunted down and hung summarily by the thousands, so loath are the victors of the rabble who dared to oppose them.

The gory descriptions of the battlefield horrors are told with such excruciating reality ("the grass was slippery with blood and entrails") that the romance of even "revolutionary" warfare is laid to rest. This book is indeed grim without a glimmer of hope in it. From its very opening and through over 600 pages, the gloom builds as both the reader and the rebels realize that ahead lie only death and defeat. However, its value lies in the hatred it creates for those who would use and manipulate others for their own purposes—the politicians and militarists of all stripes who are the real villains of this well-told calamity.

—Ele Siete



Continued from page 5

wealth will lose its motion and gather in isolated pools. Under the assumptions of trade, property is plagued by entropy and wealth becomes scarce even as it increases.

A commodity is truly "used up" when it is sold because nothing about the exchange assures its return. A visiting sea captain may pay handsomely for some Kula necklaces, but because their sale removes them from the circle it wastes them, no matter the price. Gifts that remain gifts can support an affluence of satisfaction, even without numerical abundance. The mythology of the rich in the over-producing nations that the poor are in on some secret about satisfaction—black "soul," gypsy *duende*, the noble savage, the simple farmer, the virile gamekeeper—obscures the harshness of modern capitalist poverty, but it does have a basis, for people who live in voluntary poverty or who are not capital-intensive do have more ready access to "erotic" forms of exchange that are neither exhausting nor exhausting and whose use assures their plenty.

If the commodity moves to turn a profit, where does the gift move? The gift in all its realms, from the soul to the kitchen, moves toward the empty place. As it turns in its circle it always comes to him who has been empty-handed the longest, and if someone appears elsewhere whose need is greater it will leave its old channel and move to him. Our generosity may leave us empty, but our emptiness then pulls gently at the whole until the thing in motion returns to fill us again. Social nature abhors a vacuum. The gift finds us attractive when we stand with a bowl that is unowned and empty. As Meister Eckhart says, "Let us borrow empty vessels."

The begging bowl of the Buddha, Thomas Merton has said, "represents the ultimate theological root of the belief, not just in a right to beg, but in openness to the gifts of all beings as an expression of the interdependence of all beings. . . . When the monk begs from the layman and receives a gift from the layman, it is not a selfish person getting something from somebody else. He is simply opening himself in this interdependence." The wandering mendicant takes it as his task to carry what is empty from door to door. There is not profit; he merely stays alive if the gift moves toward him. He makes its spirit visible to us.

His well-being, then, is a sign of its well-being, as his starvation would be a sign of its withdrawal. Our English word "beggar" comes from the Beghards, a brotherhood of mendicant friars that grew up in the thirteenth century in Flanders. There are still some places in the East, I gather, where wandering mendicants live from the begging bowl. In Europe they died out at the close of the Middle Ages.

property serves an upward force. On one level it reflects and carries the form of organic growth, but above that, at the level of society and spirit, the gift carries our own liveliness. We spiral upward with the gift, or at least it holds us upright against the forces that split us apart and pull us down.

To speak in this manner risks confusing biological "life" with cultural and spiritual "life"—a confusion I would like to avoid for the two are not always the same. They are linked, but there is also a gap. In addressing the question of increase let us therefore take a gift at the level of culture—something inorganic and inedible in fact—and see how far we can go toward explaining its *felt* increase without recourse to the natural analogy.

The North Pacific tribes of the American Indians (the Kwakiutl, Tlingit, Haida, and others) exchanged as ceremonial gifts large decorated copper plaques. These coppers were always associated with the property given away at a potlatch—a ceremony that marked important events such as a marriage or, more commonly, the assumption of rank by a member of a tribe. The word "potlatch" simply means "giving."<sup>15</sup>

Coppers increased in worth as they circulated. At the time when Franz Boas witnessed the exchange of a copper in the 1890s, their worth was reckoned in terms of woolen Hudson Bay Company trade blankets. To tell the story briefly and in terms of the increase involved, one of the tribes in Boas's report has a copper to give away; they invite a neighboring tribe to a feast and offer them the gift. The second tribe accepts, putting themselves under the obligation to make a return gift. The transaction takes place the next day on a beach. The first tribe brings the copper and the leader of the second tribe lays down 1,000 trade blankets as a return gift.

unanimous heart, a band whose wills are focused through the lens of the gift. In this way, the gift is an agent of social cohesion and this banding function again leads to the feeling that a gift grows through its circulation. The whole really is greater than the sum of its parts. If it brings the group together, the gift increases in worth immediately upon its first circulation, and then, like a faithful lover, continues to grow through constancy.

I do not mean to imply that gifts such as these coppers are felt to grow merely because the group projects its own life onto them, for that would imply that the group's liveliness can be separated from the gift, and it can't. If the copper is taken away, so is the life. When a song moves us we don't say we've projected our feelings onto the melody, nor do we say a woman projects the other sex onto her lover. Equally the gift and the group are two separate things and there is nothing to be withdrawn. We could say, however, that a copper is an image for the life of the group, for a true image has a life of its own. All mystery needs its image. It needs these two, the ear and the song, the he and the she, the soul and the word. The tribe and its gift are separate but they are also the same—there is a little gap between them so they may breathe into each other, and yet there is no gap at all for they share one breath, one meal for the two of them. People with a sense of the gift not only speak of it as food to eat, they also feed it (as the Maori ceremony "feeds" the forest *hau*). The nourishment flows both ways. When we have fed the gift with our labor and generosity, it grows and feeds us in return. The gift and its bearers share a spirit which is kept alive by its motion among them and from that the life emerges, willy-nilly. Still, the spirit of the gift is alive only when the gift is being passed from hand to hand. When Black Elk, an Oglala Sioux holy man, told the

and appealing—but the point here is that whatever those benefits, if they flow from the conversion of gifts to capital then the fruits of the gift are lost. At that point property becomes correctly associated with the suppression of liveliness, fertility, and emotion. To recall our earlier tales, when a goat given from one tribe to another is not treated as a gift, or when any gift is hoarded and counted and kept for the self, then death appears, or a hungry toad, or storm damage. Capitalism as a system has the same problems on a larger scale. Somewhere property must be truly consumed. The capitalist, busy turning all his homemade gravy back to capital, must seek out foreigners to consume the goods (though as before they get only the dumb consumption of commodities). And what was a toad in the psyche or storm damage in the tribe now becomes alienation at home or war and exploitation abroad, those shades who follow capital whenever it feeds on the gift.

The gift remains a gift only so long as its increase remains a gift. Those people, therefore, who prohibit "in general all increase on capital," as St. Ambrose has it, those who insist that any conversion of property from one form to another must be in the direction of the gift, who love the increase more than its vehicles and feel their worth in liveliness, for such people the increase of gifts is not lost and the circle in which they move becomes an upward spiral.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> This story illustrates almost all the main characteristics of a gift and so I shall be referring back to it throughout the essay. As an aside, therefore, I want to take a stab at its meaning. It says, I think, that if a girl without a father is going to get along in the world, she'd better have a good connection to her mother. The birds are the mother's spirit, what we'd now call the girl's psychological mother. The girl who gives the gift back to the spirit-mother has, as a result, her mother-wits about her for the rest of the tale.

Nothing in the tale links the dead man with the girl's father, but the mother seems to be a widow or at any rate the absence of a father at the start of the story is a hint that the problem may have to do with men. It's not clear, but when the first man the daughters meet is not only dead but hard to deal with we are permitted to raise our eyebrows.

The man is dead, but not dead enough. When she hits him with the stick we see that she is in fact attached to him. So here's the issue: when a fatherless woman leaves home she'll have to deal with the fact that she's stuck on a dead man. It's a risky situation—the two elder daughters end up dead,

Not much happens in the wild run through the forest, except that everyone gets bruised. The girl manages to stay awake the whole time, however. This is a power she probably got from the birds, for they are night birds. The connection to the mother cannot spare for her the ordeal, but it allows her to survive. When it's all over she's unstuck and we may assume that the problem won't come up again.

Though the dilemma of the story is not related to gift, all the psychological work is accomplished through gift exchange.

<sup>2</sup> When things run in a self-regulating cycle, we speak of time and cause and value in a different way. Time is not linear (it's either "momentary" or "eternal") and one event doesn't "cause" another, they are all of a piece. In addition, one part is no more valuable than another. When we speak

As the bearer of the empty place the holy mendicant has an active duty beyond his supplication. He is the vehicle of that fluidity which is abundance. The wealth of the group touches his bowl at all sides, as if it were the center of a wheel where the spokes meet. The gift gathers there and the mendicant gives it away again when he meets someone who is empty. In European folk tales the beggar often turns out to be Wotan, the true "owner" of the land, who asks for charity though it is his own wealth he moves within and who then responds to neediness by filling it with gift. He is the godfather to the poor.

Folk tales commonly open with a beggar motif. In a tale from Bengal, the king has two queens, both of whom are childless. A faqir, a wandering mendicant, comes to the palace gate to ask for alms. One of the queens walks down to give him a handful of rice. When he finds that she is childless, however, he says that he cannot accept the rice but has a gift for her instead, a potion that will remove her barrenness. If she drinks this nostrum with the juice of the pomegranate flower, he tells her, in due time she will bear a son whom she should then call Pomegranate Boy. All this comes to pass and the tale proceeds.

Such stories say that the gift always moves in a circle from plenty to emptiness. The gift seeks the barren and the arid and the stuck and the poor.<sup>4</sup> A commodity stays where it is and says "I am," but the gift says "I am not" and longs to be consumed. A guest in my home, it has no home of its own but moves on, leaving early in the morning before the rest of us have risen. The Lord says "all that opens the womb is mine" for it is He who filled the empty womb, having earlier stood as a beggar by the sacrificial fire or at the gates of the palace.

### III

The gift the beggar gives to the queen in this last folk tale brings the queen her fertility and she bears a child. Fertility and growth are common fruits of gift exchange. Think back on all we have seen so far—the Gaelic tale, the Kula ring, the rites of the first-born, feeding the forest *hau*, and so on—fertility is often a concern and invariably either the bearers of the gift or the gift itself grows as a result of its circulation.

If the gift is alive, like a bird or a cornstalk, then it really grows, of course. But even inert gifts, such as the Kula articles, are *felt* to increase in worth as they move from hand to hand. The distinction—alive/inert—is not finally very useful, therefore, because if the gift is not alive it is nonetheless treated as if it were and whatever we treat as living begins to take on life. Moreover, gifts that take on life will in turn bestow life. The final gift in the Gaelic tale is used to revive the dead sisters. Even if such miracles are rare, it is still a fact of the soul that depression—or any heavy, dead feeling—will lift away when a gift comes toward us. Gifts not only move us, they enliven us.

The gift is a servant to forces which pull things together and lift them up. There are other forces in the world that break things down into smaller and smaller bits, that find the fissures in stones and split them apart or enter a marriage and leave it lifeless at the core. In living organisms, the atomizing forces are associated with decay and death, while the cohering forces, the ones that wrap the morning-glory around a fence post or cover the ashy slopes of a new volcano with little pine trees, these are associated with life. Gift

receiving chief, on his own, announces he would like to "adorn" his guests. He brings out 200 more blankets and gives them individually to the visitors. Then he adds still another 200, saying, "you must think poorly of me," and telling about his forefathers.

These 400 blankets are given without any of the dialogue that marked the first part of the ceremony. It is here that the copper increases in worth. The next time it is given away, people will remember how it grew by 400 blankets in its last passage.

To return to the question of increase at the level of culture, there is a particular kind of investment in the exchange of copper. Each time the copper passes from one group to another, more blankets are heaped into it, so to speak. The source of increase is clear: each man really adds to its worth as the copper comes toward him. But it is important to remember that the investment is itself a gift, so the increase is both concrete (blankets) and emotional (the spirit of generosity). At each transaction the concrete increase (the "adornment") is a witness to the increase in feeling. In this way, though people may remember it in terms of blankets, the copper becomes enriched with feeling. And not all feelings, either, but those of generosity, liberality, good will—feelings that draw people together.

Coppers make a good example here because there is concrete increase to manifest the feeling, but that is not necessary. The mere passage of the gift, the act of donation, contains the feeling and therefore the passage alone is the investment. The gift is a pool or reservoir in which the sentiments of its exchange accumulate so that the more often it is given away the more feeling it carries, like an heirloom that has been passed down for generations. The gift gets steeped in the fluids of its own passage. In the folk tales the gift is often something seemingly worthless—ashes or coals or leaves or straw—but when the puzzled recipient carries it to his doorstep he finds it turned to gold. In such tales the mere motion of the gift across the boundary from the world of the donor (usually a spirit) to the doorsill of the recipient is sufficient to transmute it from dross to gold.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Potlatch as a Goodwill Ceremony

Typically the increase inheres in the gift only so long as it is treated as such—as soon as the happy mortal starts to count it or grabs his wheelbarrow and heads back for more, the gold reverts to straw. The growth is in the sentiment and cannot be put on the scale.

The potlatch can rightly be spoken of as a goodwill ceremony. One of the men giving the feast in the potlatch Boas witnessed says as the meal begins: "This food here is the good will of our forefathers. It is all given away." The act of donation is an affirmation of good will. When someone in one of these tribes is mistakenly insulted, his response, rather than turning to a libel lawyer, is to give a gift to the man who insulted him, and if indeed the insult was mistaken, the man gives a gift in return, adding a little extra to demonstrate his goodwill, a sequence which has the same structure (back and forth with increase) as the potlatch itself. When a gift passes from hand to hand in this spirit—and here we have come back to the question of increase—it becomes the binder of many wills. What gathers in it is not only the sentiment of generosity but the affirmation of individual good will, making of those separate parts a *spiritus mundi*, a

cycle, not consumed in use. A Maori elder who told of the forest *hau* distinguished in this way between object and increase, the *mauri* set in the forest and its *hau* which causes the game to abound. In that cycle the *hau* is nourished and passed along while the gift-objects (birds, *mauri*) disappear.

Marshall Sahlins, when he commented on the Maori gift stories, asked that we "observe just where the term *hau* enters into the discussion. Not with the initial transfer from the first to the second party, as well it could if the *hau* were the spirit in the gift, but upon the exchange between the second and third parties, as logically it would if [the *hau*] were the yield on the gift. The term profit is economically and historically inappropriate to the Maori, but it would have been a better translation than 'spirit' for the *hau* in question."

Sahlins's gloss highlights something which has been implicit in our discussion, though not yet stated directly—the increase comes to a gift as it moves from second to third party, not in the simpler passage from first to second. It begins when the gift has passed through someone, when the circle appears. But, as Sahlins senses, "profit" is not the right word. Capital earns profit and the sale of a commodity turns a profit, but the gifts that remain gifts do not *earn* profit, they *give* increase. The distinction lies in what we might call the vector of the increase: in gift exchange it stays in motion and follows the object, while in commodity exchange it stays behind (as profit).

With this in mind, we may return to a dictum laid out early in the essay: one man's gift must not be another man's capital. A corollary may now be developed, saying: the increase which comes of gift exchange must remain a gift and not be converted to capital. St. Ambrose of Milan states it directly in a commentary on Deuteronomy: "...God has excluded in general all increase of capital." This is an ethic in a gift society. Just as one may choose to treat the gift as gift or to take it out of circulation, so the increase may either be passed along or laid aside as capital.

I have chosen not to allow this essay to wander very far into the labyrinths of capitalism, so I shall only sketch this choice in its broadest terms. Capital is wealth taken out of circulation and laid aside to produce more wealth. Cattle devoured at a feast are gift, but cattle set aside to produce calves or milk are capital. All peoples have both and need both. A question arises, however, whenever there's a surplus. If you have more than you need, what do you do with it? What happens to the gravy? Capitalism as an ideology addresses itself to this choice and at every turn applauds the move away from gift and calls that sensible ("a penny saved . . .").

#### The Growth of Capital is Not the Increase in the Gift

Here it becomes necessary to differentiate two forms of growth, for the growth of capital is not the increase of the gift. Nor are their fruits the same. The gift grows more lively but capital grows in a lump—more cows, more factories . . . When all surplus is turned to capital, the stock increases but not the liveliness, and there is busyness without elevation, increase without feeling, a growth more sedimentary than organic, the conglomeration of stones rather than the flourishing of trees.

The accumulation of capital has its own benefits—security and material comfort being the most obvious

one part is no more valuable than another. When we speak of value we assume we can set things side by side and weigh them and compare. But in a self-regulating cycle no part can be taken out, they are all one. Which is more valuable to you, your heart or your brain? The value, like the time, is not comparative, it is either "priceless" or "worthless."

We say these things about gifts as well. It's almost a matter of definition, of course, that gifts cannot be sold, but here we see their pricelessness as a characteristic that goes with the circle. Likewise gifts have no cause. One doesn't say "I got this gift because I gave him one." Or rather, one can, but if he does he's out of the circle looking in, that is to say, he's begun to barter. In barter the sale causes the return; but gifts just move, that's all. When a wheel spins we don't say that the top of it "causes" the bottom to move around. That's silly. We just say, "the wheel spins," as we say, "the gift moves in a circle." Likewise, the sense of time is different. In exchange trade we know when the debt is due. In gift we do not speak, we turn back to our own labor in silence.

<sup>3</sup> They call this "use-value" in economics. I am not fond of the term. It usually shows up at the bottom line, a passing admission that at the boundary of exchange calculus there are folks who really use property to live.

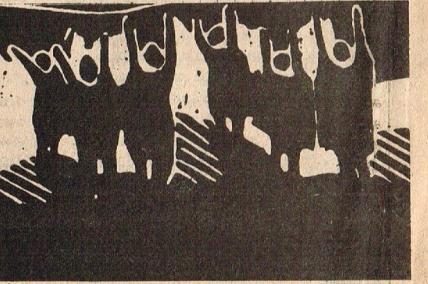
<sup>4</sup> Folk tales are the only "proof" I can offer here. The point is more spiritual than social: in the spirit world, new life comes to us when we "give up."

<sup>5</sup> I cannot here tell the story of potlatch in its full detail, but I should note that two of its better known characteristics in the popular literature—the usurious nature of loans and the rivalry or "fighting with property"—while based on traceable aboriginal motifs, are really post-European elaborations. The tribes had known a century of European trade before Boas arrived. When Marcel Mauss read through Boas's material he declared potlatch "the monster child of the gift system." So it was. As first studied, potlatch was the progeny of a "civilized" commodity trade made to an aboriginal gift economy; some of the results were freakish.

<sup>6</sup> Here is a typical tale from Russia: a woman walking in the woods found a baby wood-demon "lying naked on the ground and crying bitterly. So she covered it up with her cloak, and after a time came her mother, a female wood-demon, and rewarded the woman with a potful of burning coals, which afterwards turned into bright golden ducats."

The woman doesn't cover the baby because she wants to get paid, she does it because she's moved to; then the gift comes to her. It increases solely by its passage from the realm of wood-demons to her cottage:

<sup>7</sup> To move away from capitalism is not to change the form of ownership from the few to the many, though that may be a necessary step, but to cease turning so much surplus into capital, that is, to treat most increase (even if it comes from labor) as a gift. It is quite possible to have the state own everything and still convert all gifts to capital, as Stalin demonstrated. When he decided in favor of the "production mode" he acted as a capitalist, the locus of ownership having nothing to do with it.



# Not if we have anything to say about it.

Continued from page 1

and 7 at Detroit's Grinning Duck Club. "We" are not a political organization, we have no party and no program, and we're not interested in professional political organizers. Nor are we a gathering of experts. We are simply a group of people united in a common refusal to accept a world in which our lives can be snuffed out in a moment by people we'll never even see—and who will never see us.

Those of us who are organizing the conference have already begun work on the things we want to say, but the emphasis will be on discussion and mutual exchange—we are not interested in the all-too-familiar "we talk—you listen" form of most conferences. It's divisions like that—between the experts and the rest of us—that got us into this mess in the first place.

All of us have grown up under the threat of nuclear annihilation and we'd like to be the last generation that does—and we refuse to be the *last* generation.

Following is the tentative structure of the conference as of January 10. There are already scheduled presentations, but the conference is still very much in the planning stages and we'd like to urge any of you who are interested in participating to contact

us—let us know what you want to do (political parties need not apply).

#### Friday night, March 5:

Movie: *War Game*, by Peter Watkins  
Opening panel discussion of group's ideas and motivation for the conference.

#### 1) Introduction & Welcome: Will We Live to See 1983?

#### 2) Fingers on the Button: Why They Are Crazy Enough to Do It

#### 3) The United States: Permanent Garrison State

#### 4) Dismantling Nuclearism Means Dismantling the Nuclear Society: A Cultural Perspective

Open discussion.



She articulated her insights in several novels and in a long essay, *The American Rhythm*.

By the 20th century, "facing west" had brought the Saints to the Philippines and beyond. The history of the "taming" of the Philippines is largely unknown to North Americans and the official version reads much as one would expect the history of Vietnam to read if the U.S. had been successful in its counter-insurgency efforts.

Intellectual terrorism had been added to the usual military arsenal to effect the subjugation of the Philippines. Drinnon offers an account of University of Michigan Professor Dean Conant Worcester's sojourn in this exotic land and his subsequent drafting of "appropriate" guidelines to guarantee the subservient status of its inhabitants.

By the 1950s, intellectuals were employed directly by the military. An account of Edward G. Lansdale concludes the book. Lansdale started his career—very successfully—by defeating Philippine efforts to throw off the burden of American civilization. He was less successful in Vietnam. Ellsberg's *Pentagon Papers* make it possible to see clearly how all the assumptions—arrogance, racism, consciousness of moral superiority—tried and true after four centuries, were implemented in our generation. The "specification" of southeast

More than 200 years later the celebrated centennial historian John Fiske penned his description of the landscape outside his Pullman car while travelling through Wyoming. It was a "frightful desert. Not a tree, not a blade of grass, mountains rearing their heads on every

#### Saturday, March 6:

Series of presentations and discussions in the form of single speakers or panels, including the following proposed talks:

#### The Myth of "First Strike Capability" Medical Effects of Radiation & Nuclear War

#### Psychological Effects of Nuclear War & Threat of War

#### The European Movement Now That We Know All This, What Are We Going to Do About It?

(There is still much room for presentations on Saturday, from panel discussions to anti-nuclear puppet shows. Let your imagination be your guide, and get involved.)

#### Saturday night

Anti-nuke theater from the Duck Club Players followed by a party featuring live rock and roll from the Layabouts.

#### Sunday

Workshops and discussion/preparation for future actions.

Preparations are also being made to show several other films in the course of the conference, details of which will be forthcoming.

Funds are urgently needed!

# Draft Law at Standstill

Continued from page 1

Even simple arithmetic shows that it is impossible to imprison one million resisters in the 47,000 bed Federal penal system or to even begin to prosecute such a large number of outlaws. Instead, the government is banking on a large scale campaign of intimidation aimed at graduating high school seniors and their parents to bring about compliance.

One such ploy last summer demonstrated the government's level of desperation at the growing resistance to its draft laws.

The SSS mailed 1.2 million postcards to draft-age men in late summer reminding them of their legal obligation to sign up for conscription. At first the cards caused concern among nonregistrants who thought they had been discovered, but one activist advised, "If you're a non-registrant who received a postcard, it doesn't mean you have been discovered. The postcards were sent to a random mailing list obtained from a commercial mailing firm for one-time use only."

The SSS is still attempting to maintain the fiction that the registration has nothing to do with preparation for war or that the draft itself is about to be re-instituted, but the facts belie their claim. The Selective Service staff has recently been expanded by a third and has moved into a new five-story headquarters in Washington which features upgraded computer facilities and a new classification system.

President Reagan, who campaigned on an anti-draft platform, has recently nominated Major General Thomas Turnage as SSS Director and he is on record as favoring the drafting of young men for a six month tour of "duty." The SSS itself has already been involved in mock induction procedures, preparing for the time when the orders come down. Reagan knows that his military build-up, the largest since World War II, cannot be managed without an increase in military manpower not currently available through the volunteer army, so it will only be a matter of time before induction is re-instated.

The reasons for refusing to register vary among the young men ranging from moral to religious to political or a combin-

ation according to a sample of the public statements which recently appeared in Resistance News, 944 Market St., Rm. 705, San Francisco CA 94102. Joshua Abrams of New Haven, Conn. said, "... My main objections (to the draft) are moral in nature. . . . I don't see registration as an isolated issue, but as part of an unabatably greater phenomenon of disrespect for human freedom and life."

Michael Chastain of Richmond, Calif. wrote, "I urge all Americans who love liberty to resist the most tyrannical power a government can use, the power to force free citizens to submit to the misery of and bloodshed of war. I urge all Americans who love peace to resist this step toward the next Vietnam-style war."

Paul Jolly of Bronxville, New York, stated, "This country, as I'm sure you know is preparing itself for war. Draft registration is a gesture of compliance with the military ethos. It is an indication of availability. I have decided not to register simply because I am *not* available for military service."

These are just a sample of the men who are resisting publicly and also the ones who appear to be in jeopardy of federal prosecution. Legal defense of all men who have received letters from the SSS threatening them with prosecution for non-registration is being co-ordinated by the Selective Service Law Panel, 1911 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles CA 90057; they can suggest anti-draft lawyers in your communities. If there is no draft counselor in your region, information may be obtained from Draft Counseling, Recon Publications, Box 14602, Philadelphia PA 19134. In the Detroit area, counseling is available from the National Lawyers Guild at 963-0843 or at Wayne State University by calling 577-3451 or 833-8573.

Ultimately, the best defense against victimization by the government is for young draft resisters to mobilize their friends and families around their actions and to see that their community has a firm understanding of the motivations behind their resistance if a confrontation does occur. The best offense against the government's drive toward war is to extend the resistance movement even further; to encourage as much active refusal and support of those refusals as possible.

FUCK THE ARMY! FUCK THE DRAFT!

## Miguel Garcia Dies in London

Last month we received the sad news that long-time Spanish anarchist, Miguel Garcia, died in England on December 4, 1981. He was 73.

Miguel was a veteran of the 1936 Spanish revolution, in which he fought with the anarchist militia in the Soria

was committed to thirty years in prison (four of his companions were executed). Miguel Garcia was finally released in 1969, with the dubious honor of serving the longest sentence of any of Franco's prisoners.

Miguel then moved to London

through Wyoming. It was a "frightful desert. Not a tree, not a blade of grass; mountains rearing their heads on every side, wild and savage mountains parched with thirst." (p. 232)

Drinnon occasionally lets their contemporaries respond. In *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, Chief Standing Bear asserts:

*"The white man does not understand the Indian for the reason that he does not understand America. He is too far removed from its formative processes. The roots of the tree of his life have not yet grasped the rock and soil. The white man is still troubled with primitive fears; he still has in his consciousness the perils of this frontier continent, some of its fastnesses not yet having yielded to his questioning footsteps and inquiring eyes . . . But in the Indian the spirit of the land is still vested; it will be until other men are able to divine and meet its rhythm. Men must be born and reborn to belong. Their bodies must be formed of the dust of their forefathers' bones."* (p. 230)

Author Mary Austin (1868-1934) comes off considerably better than most of the characters in this book. Born and raised in the midwest, she grew up accepting the views of her pioneer ancestors: Indians are "varmints," Lincoln and the Civil War represent a heroic epoch in human history, blacks are childlike but threatening in their lack of inhibitions.



But even without rejecting these prejudices, she arrived at a humble and profound understanding of the Indians' link with the earth on which they lived.

*"When a Paiute medicine man explained to her that prayer was an inner act, she seemed to have known always that it was just, an inner reaching out to something that was outwardly expressed in bodily acts, in words, in music, rhythm, color. . . . Mary Austin made her great discovery. Indian dances were prayers in motion. She even brought herself to accept the bronze bodies of the dancers as instruments of their rhythmic reverence and attacked the ludicrous prudery of 'a people who would undertake to insist that the Corn Dance should be danced in pajamas, lest Diety, to whom the dance is made, should not be able to endure the sight of the bronzed thighs and shoulders he has given to the feast of his Americans."* (pp. 227-228)

superiority—tried and true after four centuries, were implemented in our generation. The "pacification" of southeast Asia was based on "might makes right" although candid statements to this effect are usually kept confidential and the perpetrators try to hide their gruesome tactics under titles like "Operation Brotherhood."

"The Metaphysics of Indian-hating and Empire Building" is a subtitle of Drinnon's book. This is a reference to a major chapter in Herman Melville's *The Confidence-Man* entitled "The Metaphysics of Indian Hating." Melville is one of the few literary figures whose humanity and insight are held up for admiration. (Others are Thomas Morton, Thoreau and, to a lesser degree, James Fenimore Cooper.) Melville offers an analysis of the coherent ideology which made and makes possible the empire-building. One requirement is to relegate indigenous people to a lower level of humanity from the builders—colonizers, to "savages," "heathens," "uncivilized." Another fundamental requirement is "having confidence." In what? In progress, in the beneficial effects of commercial relationships, in the purity of people's motives, in the genius of people with white skins. *The Confidence-Man* enriches our understanding of how it has been possible for humans to pursue with undying fervor consistent policies of devastation of nature on this continent—resulting in the extermination of humans and animals, and the raping of the earth itself.

In this context, J. F. Kennedy's call for "a new frontier" is more than rhetoric and re-asserts the right of the Saints to proceed westward. Kennedy's predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, though less subtle conveys an identical message:

*Of course our whole national history has been one of expansion . . . That the barbarians recede or are conquered, with the attendant fact that peace follows their retrogression or conquest, is due solely to the power of the mighty civilized races which have not lost the fighting instinct, and which by their expansion are gradually bringing peace into the red wastes where the barbarian peoples of the world hold sway.* (p. 232)

Roosevelt's peace, however, is that of the graveyard. It is the great merit of Drinnon's book to highlight the spiritual death of the "civilized races" which has underlain their ceaseless suppression of the "barbarian peoples of the world."

—Alice Detroit



their works, and one must choose between these or the others by examining the meaning and the finality of their actions. . . ." It then urges practical action to free the imprisoned libertarians, "those [actions] that create the most scandal [being] the best."

Unfortunately, the text offers the dubious argument that the libertarians have "rendered a very great service to the cause of the revolution" by getting themselves jailed (!) for armed activities, because "By their initiative they are sparing you the trouble of seeking, through long and difficult discussions, what would be the best way of beginning to take action. There can be no better one than this, as it is very right in theory and very fine in practice."

The author(s) propose that libertarians everywhere take up the cause of freeing these comrades. Their hope is that such a campaign will bring about the reappearance of an active libertarian current. These arguments, however, lack force. Far from being "right in theory and very fine in practice," armed actions outside the context of a generalized uprising are usually futile

Continued on page 12

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Franco's prisoners.

Miguel then moved to London, England to help found the Anarchist Black Cross with Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie and continued his anarchist activities being an inspiration to such groups as the Angry Brigade, the First of May Group and Spanish libertarian groups.

All of us here at the FE are saddened at the loss of such a comrade as Miguel Garcia, but are happy in the knowledge that there are many people in Spain and around the world who are carrying on his fight for anarchy and freedom.

Spanish revolution, in which he fought with the anarchist militias in the Saragossa campaign and at the Madrid front; he carried on his revolutionary activities within that country long after the fascist victory of 1939.

Well accustomed to the Spanish dictator Franco's prisons, he spent time in one of the regimented "rehabilitation" concentration camps directly after 1939, only to get out and continue his armed anti-fascist activities until he was once again arrested in 1949. This time though, he was sentenced to death along with eight companions.

After spending thirty-eight days in a cell for the condemned, his sentence

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**A**s we witness the imposition of military rule in Poland it seems clear it was something to have been unexpected. However, that realization does nothing to limit our anger and sadness as we helplessly watch tanks and faceless armed men crush at least the public manifestations of a movement that threatened to turn the world upside down.

That the rulers saw a military dictatorship as a necessity makes clearer than ever that a powerful movement composed of millions of Poles existed which wished to sweep away the entire edifice of that country's police state. The attempts to contain the movement within the orderly boundaries of the Solidarity union organization or to threaten it into submission had failed miserably and the rulers turned to the only recourse left to them—the armed might of the state.

Will the repression be successful? Our hopes for that country lie in the continuing reports that filter out of Poland of continued militant and passive resistance, of slowdowns and sabotage, of uprisings in the internment camps, of underground publications, of mutinies on the part of army troops, but also from what we know of the extent of the Polish movement—one which encompassed almost the entire nation. It was comprised of reformists and revolutionaries, trade unionists and syndicalists, right wing and left wing activists, nationalists and internationalists, religious Catholics and atheists, pro-capitalists, social democrats, communists and even anarchists.

Each wanted something different and only a few of the goals were ones that really excited us, but with a near unanimity, 30 million Polish workers, farmers, intellectuals, clerical and service personnel and students wanted an end to the oppressive rule of the reigning order. Thwarting this is a handful of men supported by a police and military apparatus which intends to enforce its will on a multitude. Again, will it be successful? The Polish military council faces a sullen and restive population already unwilling to follow orders, one which has had a 16-month taste of free expression and social experimentation, and it seems difficult to conceive of direct suppression being successful in re-establishing state rule as it previously existed.

(Let us add parenthetically, that while we retain the same criticisms of the Solidarity organization that we have since its inception [see our last four issues], we extend our unconditional solidarity and support to all of those interned and to those who are involved in the resistance against martial law. We call for: The release of all prisoners! Mutiny by the troops! The smashing of martial law and the destruction of the Jaruzelski junta!)

The immediate reason for the crackdown and whether it was initiated by the Russians have been debated endlessly in the daily media and in some ways are not highly relevant except to the Cold Warriors of the White House and Pentagon. It does seem clear that the plans for military rule came well in advance of the actual event, with its contingency phase beginning with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's elevation to party head last year. All that was needed was an immediate excuse which could have been provided by any number of events.

As it turned out, the final "provocation," cited by both Polish and Western observers came on Saturday, Dec. 12, when Solidarity leaders meeting in Gdansk proposed a nationwide referendum on the establishment of a non-communist government and for redefin-

## Poland Under Martial Law

# WHAT NEXT FOR SOLIDARITY?



Nothing draws a crowd like a burning police car!

A police car burning after it was overturned by demonstrators December 16 outside the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. According to Warsaw military broadcasts, 300 people were injured when the police stormed one of the shipyard's buildings. On Jan. 12, the Polish military council announced it wanted to end martial rule "by Feb. 1," but first needed an orderly economic situation before so doing. A government spokesman, Jerzy Urban said of Lech Walesa, he "is such a personality that a place will be found for him in future agreements."

of democratizing a police state), all the while leaving the state capitalist economy, the Party and the Warsaw Pact alliance intact? It is, of course, difficult to fathom the thinking of Kremlin and Warsaw decision makers, but several things occur immediately as explanations. 1) Neither the rulers of Russia nor Poland were interested in sophisticated compromises which would diffuse their power and risk serving as exam-

end corruption (this has included the arrest of numerous officials from the previous regime), improve much needed food supplies and return the country to the rule of law. A government official was quoted as saying that the general would soon unveil a program that "would amount to a new model for social, political, and economic life in Poland."

To that end, three groups comprised of high-

the system cannot operate properly without an external control element."

### Both Repression and Recuperation for Poland

It appears that the "Polish solution" may turn out to be a combination of repression and recuperation, for despite the repeated assurances of "renewal" from the government, it is doubtful that one can occur under a martial law situation and one in which the ruling authorities are thoroughly distrusted and despised by the populace. Poland's huge debt to the West with its reliance on imported machinery and raw material makes a rapid repair of social relations imperative. A collapse of the economy (coal production is down two-thirds from 1980), a default of the national debt or the need to depend solely on the Eastern economic bloc would cripple the Soviet Union's credit standing with the West and condemn Poland to years of poverty.

So, a place for Solidarity or another "independent" union should be expected to be in place once martial law is lifted, perhaps even containing some of the same personnel. For instance, what of Lech Walesa, the man last issue's article asserted was prepared to lead the Polish working class back into the clutches of state capitalism? As of this writing he remains under house arrest bravely refusing to cooperate with the military authorities and even reportedly urging passive resistance to martial law. However, a Dec. 28 British Broadcasting Corp. report of the end of Walesa's very brief hunger strike stated that "it was put to him that he should not place his life in danger, for he might still have an important role to play in ending the current crisis." So, after all, what the imposition of military rule is about in Poland is to tame the same elements that Walesa and the Solidarity leadership had so much trouble with—those courageous men and women who wanted something totally different from what had existed in their lives for so long and seemed to be willing to go to any lengths to get it.

### Polish Struggle Not At An End

For the time being at least, the Poles have lost their independent union structure with Solidarity's suppression. As one UPI account put it, "At 11 p.m. (Dec. 12) the plug was pulled on nationwide telephone and Telex lines. Solidarity for one, lost the ability to send orders to branches around the nation." But this only cripples the organization, not the movement, for what does remain is the traditional Polish means of communication which pre-dates both the present regime and its economy—a nationwide system based on an interlocking network of families, villages, churches and communities that leaves no one isolated in the manner which a nation of TV watchers would be. News of the underground resistance still flashes across Poland at a rate almost comparable to that of electronic means contradicting the government accounts of life returning to "normal."

The military rulers have allowed "The Flintstones" and the "Muppets" to return to Polish television, but the sale of paper is prohibited in a vain effort to squelch the independent production of leaflets and newsletters. Red and black government signs appear everywhere urging people to show support for the military regime with hard work. Posters exhort the population to: "Help the forces of law and order combat anarchy and lawlessness" and "The quickest road to normalization is strict martial law." These 1984ish slogans do not even try to mask the real issues they so succinctly state:

proposed a nationwide referendum on the establishment of a non-communist government and for redefining Poland's military relationship with the Soviet Union. This combined with the threat of a large demonstration planned for Warsaw to protest the breaking of a fire cadets' strike was the pretext which the government used to set the military take-over in motion.

#### Was Solidarity Really Planning A Coup?

While the words uttered were the worst that could fall upon the ears of the Polish and Soviet bureaucrats—a challenge to the primacy of the party and Poland's military alliance with the Russians—was Solidarity really planning a "coup" as the authorities charged? There doesn't seem to be a shred of evidence to support the contention—no weapons stockpiles, no insurrectionary military plans, no militia leaders, nothing. A state, no matter how isolated it is politically, cannot be easily overthrown by an unarmed populace if its military mechanism remains intact. And certainly the Solidarity leaders could not have been so foolish as to believe that even if they were to somehow topple the government that the Soviet Union would have been forestalled from intervening.

What, in fact, may have been in the works at the Gdansk gathering was a complicated and sophisticated attempt by the Solidarity leadership to overcome the impasse with the government they had arrived at over questions of political and economic authority within Poland. They almost certainly had no actual intention of trying to completely dislodge the communist authorities, but rather had reached a desperation point where Solidarity's immense popularity had begun to erode and the situation was beginning to slip ever further beyond their control.

Political observers in Gdansk pointed to the call for the referendum more as a pressure tactic to be used against the government than an actual threat. A regional Solidarity leader in attendance noted in the Dec. 13 New York Times that "the referendums were a new weapon for the union, a replacement for strikes." The same issue of the Times further states, "The inclusion of the questions about the Soviet military 'guarantees' were part of an overall attempt to convince Moscow that its security could be better served if its military interests were protected by long-term agreements with a wider segment of society than the 2.7 million member Communist Party."

The implications of this view are several: 1) that Solidarity was signaling to the Soviets that it had a credibility with the Polish people that the demoralized Party no longer enjoyed; 2) that it was willing to accept the limits of power imposed by its position within the Soviet bloc and; 3) it would discipline the Polish working class for the necessary sacrifices ahead in exchange for vastly expanding its political role and a sweeping number of dramatic democratic reforms. The tactic of posing a referendum no matter how "radical" its content as a substitute for economic strikes should be seen as in keeping with the Solidarity leadership's continuing efforts to block work stoppages.

#### Solidarity Couldn't Deliver the Goods

But if all of this is true, why did the Polish military, most assuredly with the insistence of their Soviet masters, clamp the lid down on what appeared to be their best bet for having to only suffer a superficial reconstruction of Polish society (not to minimize the effect

were interested in sophisticated compromises which would diffuse their power and risk serving as examples for other Eastern Bloc nations. Rather than depending on a short-run, stop-gap solution which contained the likely possibility of future challenges to their authority, they preferred to use their traditional heavy-handed methods of military repression they have refined since the end of World War II. Or 2) what we indicated last issue (see FE, Nov. 19, 1981, "Solidarity and State Confront Polish Workers") that they perceived Lech Walesa's official union mechanism as being unable to deliver the goods. That is, the Polish movement had grown to such proportions, was so undisciplined and uncontrolled, contained so many diffuse elements, wanted so many different things, that Solidarity was viewed as being incapable of managing the situation adequately enough to be given a hand in the supervision of the state as was suggested in the Fall for a "Front of National Agreement" between the Party, church and Solidarity.

However, the front was, as the Dec. 13, 1981 New York Times put it, "an idea whose time had passed or not yet come." (our emphasis) Gen. Jaruzelski, now chief of Poland's military council to add to his list of other titles, has stressed continually that the reforms of the last 16 months would continue and the the Military Council of National Salvation would work to

and economic life in Poland."

To that end, three groups comprised of high-ranking leaders from the ostensibly suspended Communist Party have been established to recommend proposals for reforms. One of the appointed groups, led by Hieronym Kubiatk, a Politburo member, has even resurrected the idea of the tripartite government which would eliminate the direct rule of the Party and substitute a new party which would encompass church and union influences as well as reform elements from the existing Party. The other groups have made proposals which echo Solidarity's calls for decentralization of the economy, autonomy of workplaces and a degree of self-management.

A more recent statement by Capt. Wieslaw Gornicki, adviser to Gen. Jaruzelski, emphasized that there would most certainly be a role for a tamed and docile Solidarity organization in the "new" Poland. In a Jan. 5 interview, the adviser said that the ruling military council has "no intention of dissolving Solidarity" and that "in our system there is a place for an independent, self-governing trade union—independent from the state employer. . ." In an even more candid admission, Gornicki formulated a future for Solidarity that defines the role of all unions: "The important lesson we have drawn from the pre-August 1980 situation is, while we cannot afford an opposition party,

is strict martial law." These 1984ish slogans do not even try to mask the real issues they so succinctly state: the rule of the state vs. that of freedom and self-association, in a word—anarchy. In an excellent leaflet we received from the Malcontents, c/o Bound Together Books, 1901 Hayes St., San Francisco CA 94117, they begin with the heading "All Law Is Martial Law." And so it is, with those in Poland receiving the sharpest edge of state—its armed might.

At this point, it is impossible to declare the Polish struggle at an end. It's failure to be internationalized to any great degree is in part a failure of Solidarity which often framed its appeals in crass nationalistic and religious wording, but the spread of the movement to other Soviet Bloc nations is still the key to the struggle going beyond the dead ends of trade unionism and national reforms. If this is the end of another in the long series of heroic but failed revolts against Eastern European police states then we salute its passing and must carry a sadness that we didn't add measurably to the defense of the Polish workers. If it is still just a beginning of a movement that assaults the Eastern sector of capitalism—at its weakest link—then we wait with anticipation and only hope our participation will be greater in the next wave.

So, put on your dancin' shoes and show your solidarity with our friends around the world. You can be sure all of us will be down there kickin' up the dust. It's the only party we support!

If you are unable to attend the benefit for the antiauthoritarian press, but would like to contribute to the support of these publications you can send donations c/o the Fifth Estate, 4403 Second Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48201 (please make checks out to the Fifth Estate).

#### Spanish Prisoners—Cont. from page 11

and suicidal gestures. And as for the hope that "autonomous actions" to free the imprisoned libertarians will provide a rallying cry for the libertarian movement, such an instrumental view of these comrades' plight smells of the martyrology school of political mystification.

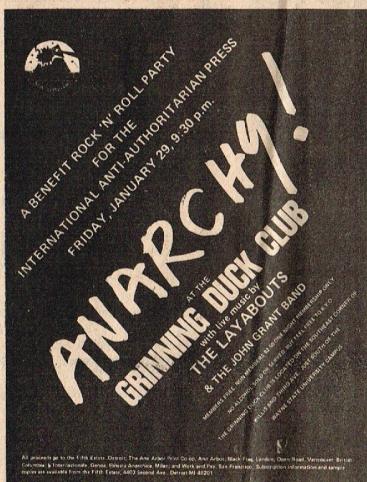
Inexplicably, the publishers do not provide even an address to which inquiries regarding aid can be sent—thus defeating the purpose of the poster. But after inquiring we have found this address to which money and inquiries can be sent: BM BIS, London WCIV 6XX, England.

At last word, the libertarians and other prisoners were on a hunger strike. It is our sincere hope that readers of this appeal will quickly send aid, and that these comrades will soon be on the streets again.

For a free copy of the poster, send \$1.00 postage and handling to the FE, or request it with book orders.

# ANARCHY AT THE GRINNING DUCK

## Benefit for the Libertarian Press



You don't have to watch the nightly TV news to realize that money is tight these days. It is an international problem that has put many anti-authoritarian printing projects in jeopardy including this one. For that reason we are planning a benefit party to raise money for the international anti-authoritarian press. Although we sometimes find ourselves in sharp disagreement with one another, we share a basic commitment and comradeship and we want to assure that none of the publications go under for a want of funds.

On Friday, January 29, there will be a blow-out bash at the Grinning Duck Club, 4156 Third Ave. at the corner of W. Willis, with live music performed by the Layabouts and the John Grant Band. Rocking from 9:30 p.m. until the doors close, the bands will be shaking the club's walls to raise money and provide a night of fun for all in attendance.

The money raised will be divided up among the Fifth Estate; Work and Pay, San Francisco; Revista Anarchica, Italy; Black Flag: Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross, United Kingdom; the Ann Arbor Anarchist Print Co-op, Ann Arbor, Michigan; and L'Internationale, Italy. For some of these publications, such as Black Flag and Open Road, their financial situation is one of life and death.

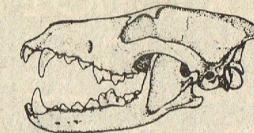
Admission fee is \$2.50, but there is also a \$10 ticket for those who can afford to give a little extra help. It won't get you anything more than the normal \$2.50 ticket, but a bigger thank you. Of course, we won't say no to anyone interested in a \$50 or \$100 ticket (we're very obliging). A full accounting of the proceeds and the division of funds will appear in the next issue of the Fifth Estate.

1/50/5/1/18

25p



# Gifth estate



Only twelve shopping days left until nuclear war!

Vol. 17 No. 2 (309)

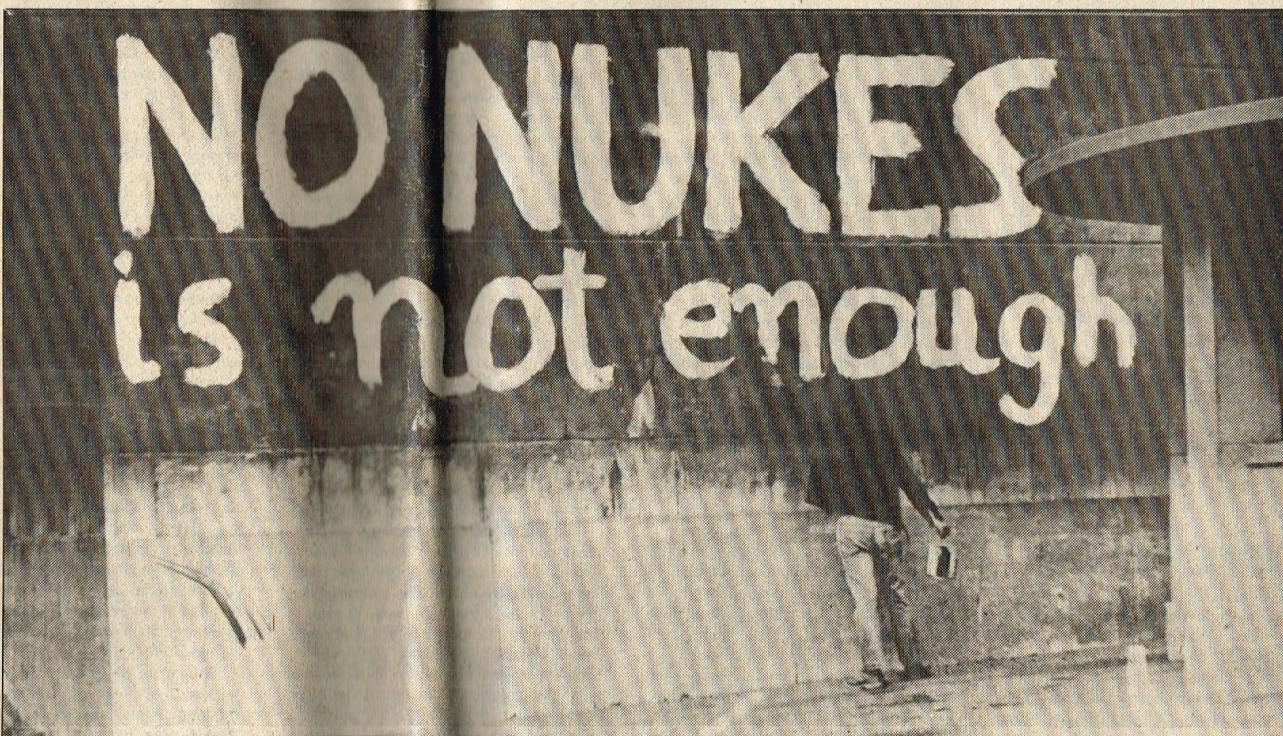
June 19, 1982

50 cents

## THE NUCLEAR FREEZE Why we didn't sign your petition

The rapidity with which a movement against nuclear weapons and war has blossomed has been as surprising to us as it has been to everyone else. There can be no doubt that the possibility of nuclear holocaust, and the understandable concern if not out-and-out terror which accompanies it, is one of the foremost questions on people's minds today. The upsurge began in Europe and quickly spread to the United States. Conferences and convocations; demonstrations (20,000 in Chicago, 30,000 in Vancouver, 12,000 in Seattle to name just a few); the repudiation of civil defense plans in towns and cities throughout the U.S.; the growth of peace and disarmament organizations; and the storm of books and articles on the subject have all revealed a pervasive urgency and a growing sense of horror and resistance to the Reagan administration's recent talk of "limited" and "winnable" nuclear war, demonstration shots, and "first strike" capability.

In general, the momentum against nuclear war has been identified with the massive grassroots campaign (now going on in forty states) for a "nuclear freeze," with even all sorts of politicians, retired military men and celebrities endorsing it as a "first step" towards the reduction (and even abolition) of nuclear weapons. A million people have signed nuclear freeze petitions, and according to a Gallup poll, 72% of Americans support a bilateral nuclear freeze. Its appeal, accord-



Security Council, admitted that he was "appalled at the popularization of these subjects," adding, "I don't like the idea of a lot of people screaming and yelling that these warmongers in Washington need to be brought under control."

riority would amount to "catching up" to "parity" with the Soviets, or so the argument goes. This counterattack by the Reagan government led nationally syndicated columnist Mary McGrory, a vocal proponent of a nuclear freeze, to comment, "They worry

people are out in front of their leaders," noted Republican senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. And in March senators Edward ("We'll-cross-that-bridge-when-we-come-to-it") Kennedy and Mark Hatfield introduced a resolution in Congress urging the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to negotiate a "mutual and verifiable" nuclear weapons freeze.

## The Nuclear Freeze Campaign, viewed by so many as "the first step toward peace" is, in fact, another step toward war.

Reagan, on the other hand, has taken a more oblique approach, responding that he is "heart and soul in sympathy with the people who are talking about the horrors

more about the freeze than about nuclear weapons." (Detroit Free Press, 5/13/82)

All kinds of people have endorsed a freeze as well as other similar arms control proposals, such as cold-warrior-turned-dove George F. Kennan's proposal to reduce nuclear arsenals by fifty per cent. One congressional aide remarked, "It's not the traditional ban-the-bomb advocates, but doctors, lawyers, members of the clergy, businesspeople" who are making waves among the politicians on Capitol Hill. The head of

and according to a Gallup poll, 72% of Americans support a bilateral nuclear freeze. Its appeal, according to its organizers, resides in its "simplicity," the accessible, commonsense notion that "enough is enough," that both sides should halt the arms race and begin serious negotiations to reduce arsenals and back away from the present trajectory toward confrontation.

In fact, the Reagan administration has been obliged to soften its loose war rhetoric of last year, which set off many of the demonstrations in Europe and got the ball rolling here in the U.S. "This movement," an anonymous White House advisor confided to *Newsweek* magazine, "is very dangerous." William G. Hyland, who was Kissinger's hatchet-man on the National

approach, responding that he is "heart and soul in sympathy with the people who are talking about the horrors of nuclear war and the fact that we should do everything we could to prevent such a war from happening." "To those who protest against nuclear war," he has said, "I can only say, I'm with you." However, in his view, a nuclear freeze would be unacceptable because it is "not enough," hence he has called for reductions in nuclear weapons while endorsing a different freeze proposal in Congress promoted by senators Henry Jackson and John Warner which would demand an immediate arms buildup at even greater proportions than the record-breaking levels already in motion, and the attainment of counterforce (first strike) capability before "freezing" nuclear weapons. Such U.S. super-

## FE & THE ANTI-NUKE WAR MOVEMENT

# WHERE WE'VE BEEN

Contrary to the impression the accompanying photo may give, we have not been lying down on the job. Rather, since our last issue we have been quite heavily involved in holding several anti-nuclear war conferences (including the one announced in our January 19 issue), as well as various anti-war, anti-draft activities, and on-going discussions concerning our activities and our relationship to the momentum against nuclear war now taking shape throughout the country.

The first conference, held at Detroit's Grinning Duck Club on March 4, 5, and 6, grew out of a desire to create our own discourse around a question which we saw as becoming increasingly important. We attended a Convocation Against Nuclear War held at Wayne State University last fall which was run top-down fashion by a host of bureaucratic arms control organizations and starring a bevy of experts, military men and celebrities, during which politicians and academics argued one or another nuclear "deterrent" system against those being set into place by the present administration.

After nearly being ejected for pointing out (without being asked) that one technique of mass murder was being preferred over the others, and for distributing the FE against the rules of the Convocation organizers, we decided that we should hold our own conference to make the statements about this urgent problem that were being made nowhere else. We also wanted to create the kind of space in which people could democratically discuss all aspects of the problem without monitors and experts at the podium telling us to sit down passively and be given the water of knowledge by the proper authorities. (See "The Pull Back From Armageddon," FE Nov. 19, 1981.)

### The Grinning Duck Club

People around the Duck Club and friends from the neighborhood were already talking about such an idea, and so we joined with what was from the start a diverse group of people interested in taking on the question of nuclear war, its possibility, its history, and its meaning. Most of the people involved were not in any



A "Die-in" against nuclear war at Detroit's Eastern Market, April 3, 1981. No nukes? See above. Photo by Buster Brown.

way directly associated with the FE, though most were united by long term friendships or activities around the Duck, hung out at the bars together, lived together, and made up the loose community that comprises the Cass Corridor/4th Street axis which makes up our little world here in the city.

Many people were not sure that they shared our extreme position on technology, and certainly many were not anarchists, but everyone was interested in discussing all of the issues related to the question of war. Pretty much everyone involved was also in agreement that the nuclear war question was a symptom of

Continued on Page 16

(Detroit Free Press, 5/13/82)

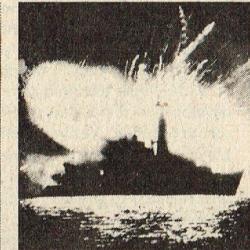
### Democratic Party Bandwagon

As is to be expected, Democratic Party politicians have seen the anti-war mood of Americans and the tremendous successes of the freeze campaign as a bandwagon which will carry them back into control of the Senate and the White House. "The American

the-bomb advocates, but doctors, lawyers, members of the clergy, businesspeople" who are making waves among the politicians on Capitol Hill. The head of the California freeze initiative campaign, for example is millionaire businessman Harold Willens, who has argued that such a move would save money which could be used to help the U.S. "become competitive

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

# FALKLANDS/MALVINAS HOAX MURDER ON SEAL ISLAND



Can you guess which two people were not on this South Seas cruise?

**INTRODUCTORY NOTE:** Is it the war of the Malvinas or the fight for the Falklands? It all depends upon which imperialist gang you support, the doddering Great Britain or the budding young Argentina. But what if you support neither of these positions? What if you refuse to accept the "legitimacy" of the nation state, whether it be Democratic, Fascist, Communist, Monarchist, etc., let alone its global conflicts?

To us there is no choice, let alone a reason to choose. All governments, regardless of their reasons of existence, are the absolute antithesis of liberty, equality, fraternity and freedom. For this reason, we have decided to use a name that seems much more representative of the island being contested — Seal Island. Not to be confused with the barren rocks off the east coast of Florida that bear the same name, Seal Island was a term that whalers and hunters used to describe its fury, seal-covered beaches (this term was also used to include the islands of South Georgia and South Orkney, although the name will not extend to these isles in the following article). Since these animals seem to be the only true inhabitants of the island — no trace of an indigenous people has ever been found — to us the title Seal Island is a just one.

As we go to press, there are daily reports of Argentine and British troops murdering each other on a bleak bit of rock in the South Atlantic. As if knowledge of all history dating before April 2, 1982 does not exist, groups of humans stand ready to die while both nations justify their acts in the name of "honor, sovereignty, and freedom," both claiming the sanctification of the same god.

I'm sure that, like myself, until a month or so ago most people would have been hard-pressed to come up with the location of Seal Island. That is, until it became the proving ground for not only the latest in modern weaponry (its reliability had to be tested somewhere), but the utmost of insanity.

Located off the eastern coast of Argentina, Seal Island is hardly what one could call choice land. Covered by clouds and rain 250 days out of the year, the island is a treeless, windswept mound that's separated into two sections, East and West, by the Falkland [sic] Sound (it's said that the islanders stand on an angle from force of habit and except for the occasional house and shed, rocks are its largest inhabitants). With the only indigenous dwellers of the island be-

ing seals and penguins, the islands remained a rather tranquil place for thousands of years. However, as it has been said many times before, all good things must come to an end. In a matter of a few generations this history of tranquility was turned into one of continuous murder and plunder. Transformed into a history of warfare that first pitted Europeans against seals (a rather onesided fight to say the least), and after the near extinction of the "natives," it was only a matter of time before the humans turned on themselves.

### Discovered and Rediscovered

There's a great deal of debate, which I'll only touch upon, as to which European navigator first caught sight of the isle—Spanish, English, Italian (Florentine to be exact), or Dutch. Whoever it was, no one seemed to really care until it was recognized that the island was covered with gold. Not the metal, but the fish, whales and seals that could be traded for metal and power.

Continued on Page 7

# Letters to the Fifth Estate

## FASCIST DISSENSION

### Dear Friends:

I am resubscribing to the Fifth Estate plus \$1.00 extra for a prisoner's subscription. I support the work of the FE and believe that it is of critical value to all revolutionaries. However, I strongly disagree with your printing of the "Challenge to the Prison Movement" (See FE Nov. 19, 1981) piece of fascist dissension.

As far as I'm concerned anyone who advocates for the present institutions, especially the prisons of this country is advocating a view compatible with the State's. We can read that kind of bullshit in the New York Times. The Fifth Estate paper should remain a voice of revolution and anti-authoritarianism and critical discussion, not reactionary politics.

In Struggle,  
Paul Hetznecker  
Amherst, Mass.

## SCIENCE/RELIGION

### Folks:

I saw a couple of articles in the local papers which started my mind thinking and I decided to share it.

One of the articles dealt with meteorologists' views of the big winter storm we had here January 3 through 5. The other was about the loss of a lawsuit by Christians who wanted biblical creation taught in public school science classes along side of the theory of evolution.

In the first article, the meteorologists described a storm that killed at least 24 people, injured hundreds and destroyed thousands of houses as being not a particularly major storm by objective, scientific standards, but actually only an average storm. The second article says that the teaching of biblical creation was not to be taught in school because it was part of a religious belief, not a scientific theory. (I agree that biblical creation should not be taught in school. Nothing should be taught in school. But as long as there are

## MORE DEBATE ON TECHNOLOGY

### DOES FE VIEW MEAN "WAR OR BIG BROTHER"?

#### Dear Fifth Estate:

The cover graphic of the mushroom cloud with the word WAR! in seven centimeter lettering across the front struck me as highly appropriate for the Fifth Estate (See FE Nov. 19, 1981). It would seem to me that a worldwide nuclear war would surely be a progressive step towards "Paleolithic Liberation." In all your polemics against technology and in your point by point rebuttals to pro-tech arguments you never seem to deal with the sort of question I am inclined to raise. Namely, how do you expect 4 billion people to sustain themselves on this planet in a hunter gatherer mode of production?

The population of the planet in paleolithic times was a mere fraction of one percent of the present population. This was true for a reason; human beings needed to live within the carrying capacity of their environment. There is an optimal level in the ratio of the number of human beings to a given ecosystem for a given mode of production. I would suggest that the development of agriculture, the state, classes and technology has been a long term process of intensification of production in response to rising population pressures. With each new innovation (i.e. semi-nomadic agriculture to sedentary rainfall agriculture to irrigation agriculture, etc.) the carrying capacity of the environment is increased making further population expansion possible which leads to eventual depletions and pressure towards still more intensified production strategies.

With the development of newer modes of production for larger populations there have been various trade-offs. These have included the development of despotic bureaucracies such as the techno-managerial elite which solidified itself permanently as a class in China around 500 BC in control of the elaborate irrigation system which developed there in response to the food demands of a rising population. Although there have been "revolutions" and conquests by foreign invaders throughout China's history, the region has always been ruled by a bureaucratic ruling class and continues to this day. Other trade-offs have included longer working hours and greater and greater degrees of alienation.

The Fifth Estate makes its strongest theoretical contributions in its analysis of alienation, dehumanized mechanized labor and the techno-wasteland culture. I find myself agreeing with practically all of your arguments while agreeing with virtually none of your conclusions. There can be

war, genocide, family planning by government decree, and through forced sterilization of "undesirables." The alternative is voluntary, rational population control by a cooperative planet-wide confederation of ecologically-based autonomous communities. The alternatives are Big Brother or the mushroom cloud on the cover

of the FE (or both!).

**In Support of Your Paper**  
(even though we disagree).  
Chris Dugan  
The League for Revolutionary  
Anarchism & Freedom  
Box 18488  
Denver CO 80218

*John Zerzan responds: To see class society as the "response to rising population pressures" is to view it as a natural, inevitable outcome and neglect the tragic struggle of communal life against its domination. For an anarchist, I would have thought Kropotkin's stress on mutual aid and the perfectability of society would be far more pertinent to the question of population than Hobbes and Malthus, who seem larger influences and who bolstered bourgeois ideology by elevating the scarcity of resources and proclaiming the constancy of the ethical limitations of humanity.*

*Similarly, your prescription of a "planet-wide confederation" to somehow control population on a "voluntary, rational" basis seems to me way off for one who, presumably, desires a free, unmediated condition of life. I would think that either people will apprehend and express the dimensions of anarchy directly or they will need the lingering authority of global bureaux. Not both.*

*In the matter of technology, here also a couple of unsound notions. You cite my "Industrialism & Domestication" as a corrective to the idea, allegedly the Fifth Estate's, that technology is independent of the social and political framework in which it is found. Yet the FE was the original publisher of this essay and I've seen no evidence that the paper's staff has ever disputed the article's thesis that a designed social control intentionality was the hallmark of factory-system technology.*

*On the other hand, there has been a willingness in the FE to consider the sense in which present and future technology tend toward a life of their own. Here there has been an effort to critically assess the extent to which Jacques Ellul is correct that technology is becoming itself an independent system dominating society.*

*Concerning the definition of technology, or rather the point at which "technology" becomes a destructive influence, here I think you have also misread the FE.*

*Recent anthropology (e.g. Marshall Sahlins, R.B. Lee) has completely reversed the view that original, hunter-gatherer life was*

*valued in itself or needed in great amounts and in which the spirit of the gift dominated. But as I see it, the attention accorded this momentous discovery and its implications has not meant that a foraging way of life is an exact formula promoted to end the profound alienation of humanity from itself and nature. Eschewing blueprints, the FE has mainly tried to show that the myths of progress have concealed much about our origins, and has also tried to see through to the nature of the technology that now envelops us.*

*I tend to think the line should be drawn between tools and machines. It is here that division of labor, with its diminution of the individual, begins, and its consequence, the arrival of the effective power of specialists. The devitalization and de-personalization so vivid today perhaps finds its axial point back at the distinction between tools and machines. Laron Winner, in his *Autonomous Technology*, put it this way: "One can seek the high levels of productivity that modern technological systems bring. One can also seek the founding of a communal life in which the division of labor, social hierarchy, and political domination are eradicated. But can one in any realistic terms have both? I am convinced that the answer to this is a firm 'no.'"*

*Of course, we are meant to believe that we would all die if technology were dismantled. We are so steeped in it that the simple idea of growing our own food is not what springs to mind but rather the artificial problem of how to "coordinate" its "production." Instead of the notion of natural ways of birth control, related to the condition of being one with our own bodies, there is an unthinking assumption of factories that produce surgical steel, plastics and other dependency-maintaining substances. Today's growing distrust of high technology, however, and the "surprising" recent movement, as noted in 1980 census analysis, away from the cities to small towns and rural areas are two phenomena that point away from massified, complex technology.*

*But if one continues to think in terms of "production" and sees the assembly*

#### Dear FE's:

Thanks for sending the back issues of your splendid rag. I read all the technology articles and those on primitivism. (FE note: see July 1981 and Nov. 19, 1981 for major articles). I very much enjoyed them, and believe it or not, agreed with much of it. But I find your case overstated and underdeveloped.

It seems typical of the polemical traditions of the left to adopt "maximalist" positions, in high-flown rhetoric, as a prelude to being forced to define your terms more precisely—to make the hard choices. It strikes me as a sort of intellectual bargaining position, perhaps with shades of self-advertisement as well.

I don't believe you have adequately defined this difference between "technology" and "tool," except to say that one means oppressive social organization while the other means independence. Sorry, but I still fail to see what is inherently oppressive about billions of individuals pooling information through a decentralized micro-computer network.

Also, you fail to take any note of the problem of parochialism which "totally" independent tools implies. I agree that we must learn from primitive societies. But as far as I know, there are no extant societies which do not know some form of (perhaps highly ritualized) warfare—except save Eskimo tribes which are permanently "at war" with an extremely harsh environment. Doesn't totally independent "paleolithic" tool-ology imply that other tribes must be always just those people over there—who do not usually help us but may someday hurt us, taking up space, threatening our space? . . . other tribes which are always other.

The biblical curse of Babel—what hope is there for overcoming it except through increased ease of communication and transportation? This is not to say that all languages must be standardized—although this is what is happening, to be sure, through English and international techno-speak. But we could develop a less Indo-European version of Esperanto (with the help of computers!) and let a thousand tongues and literature bloom!

Furthermore, your arguments against labor saving "technology" are often childish. The cartoon says, "Assuming that (labor) could actually be reduced at all through increased mechanization. . . the workers manufacturing such productive machines would have made no real improvement in their lives." But who says

taught in school. But as long as there are schools, they'll teach children to obey some authority, whether they call it god or whatever.) These articles inspired me to do some thinking about modern science.

What could make someone see 24 people killed, hundreds injured and thousands lose their homes, let alone the thousands of plants and animals that may have been killed that the newspapers, of course, don't report, and then tell us that this wasn't a major storm? Modern science, of course. That system of belief that says that we can separate ourselves from the world and look at it in a purely "objective" way, eliminating the human (or as they would say the emotional) element in our observation. And this is not a religious faith?!

Biblical creation cannot be taught in public schools because it is part of a religious faith, but evolution, which is taught in public schools as part of the faith in modern science, is permissible. Sure, I feel that life came to be through a process that could be called evolution, but why use this term with its implications of progress, of the later being superior to the earlier, and why bring in all of the trappings of modern science? Modern science is just as much a religion as Christianity.

Both Christianity and modern science see humanity as, at least ideally, separate from the natural world. Both are forced to posit something that is totally outside of nature that humans can turn to. For Christianity, it's their god; for modern science, it's objective scientific laws. And, of course, both need an institutional form through which humans can participate in their separation from nature. For Christianity, it's the church. For modern science it's technology.

Fuck god!  
Fuck science!  
Abolish all religions!  
David N. DeVries  
San Francisco

## GREAT JOKE

Dear FE:

I really enjoyed your parody of folkloric scholarship—that article on "The Gift" (see FE Jan. 19, 1982 "Gift Exchange & the Imagination"). It was a bit long, although there was probably a good laugh buried in every column.

I hope you don't follow up that success with another such article. Once is enough; the point is made; don't beat a gift horse.

Keep up the hilarious work. We need laughs.

Moral Quest  
San Francisco

none of your conclusions. There can be no denying the role that technology, especially centralized heavy industrial production, has had in degrading the spontaneity and creativity of the human spirit in favor of a homogenized, docile workforce of obedient order-takers. To assert that this is an inevitable result of technology in any form misses the point entirely, though.

The factory as a force for social control did not develop through some sort of process inherent in technology itself, it was developed deliberately by capitalists in their early efforts to secure greater control over the workforce. I would direct your attention to John Zerzan's "Industrialization and Domestication" (see FE April 1976) for a closer look at the late 18th and early 19th century class struggles I am referring to. The modern factory was developed, in part, as a weapon of the capitalist class in the class struggle.

Virtually all technology in history has developed within a class matrix of one sort or another. Yet you seem to regard technology as being an independent force with an intrinsic mad logic all its own and unconnected to any sort of class analysis. I am not arguing that technology in its present form will be liberating and non-alienating if only the "good guys" take it over from the "bad guys." An assembly line will always be alienating to some degree, even if it is under total workers' control.

I see three major directions in which our species can go. The first is towards the continually expanding technico-managerial Orwellian computer Mega-state. This would involve greater and greater interlocks amongst the planet's ruling elites, greater control over the lives and thoughts of individuals, and a steady erosion of individual liberty, free thought and free expression.

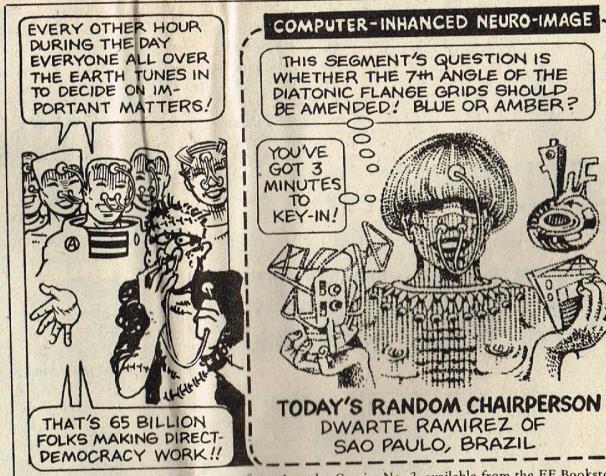
The second likely direction is mass self-destruction through a nuclear war or an eco-catastrophe. This second course would favor the FE's goals, in my view, as it would drastically reduce the population pressures of the human species for obvious reasons. The question of how a reduced human population could live in a paleolithic mode of production and have enough for everyone to eat remains only partially answered at best.

The third choice which our species has is towards an ecologically sound, decentralized humanistic technology. There is simply no other way to support the basic needs of 4 billion people without some forms of technology or a massacre. If you can prove me wrong, please do so and I will eat my typewriter. That's a promise!

Population control is going to be essential one way or the other. The technomegastate will accomplish this through

view that original, hunter-gatherer life was nasty, short and brutish, in favor of recognizing in the Stone Age the original affluence society, in which work was neither

of "production, and sees the assembly line as merely alienating" "to some degree," then the essential point of the FE's quest for the bedrock of freedom is being missed.



—from Anarchy Comics No. 3, available from the FE Bookstore

## FOR A NON-ADMINISTERED WORLD

**E.B. Maple responds:** How, suddenly, do we get tarred by Chris Dugan for what capitalism threatens—nuclear holocaust and totalitarianism? To charge, as does the *Fifth Estate*, that the potential for both calamities has its roots in the techniques of the modern world hardly suggests that we are responsible for the process. In fact, it is that very process we would hope would be eliminated at the time of the reestablishment of a human community. This is not a political program that we intend to see enforced on people, but rather a desire that people freed from the productive fetishes of this society would be content to live without most of the technology that is the hallmark of capitalism.

Also, nothing but a sense of foreboding strikes me when I hear distinctly political formulas for the future. The whole phrase of Dugan's, "a cooperative, planet-wide confederation of ecologically-based autonomous communities," seems at best a pipe dream and at worst a prescription for and a continuation of the very authoritarianism he fears. If you don't mind, I don't want my affairs subjected to the schemes of his "planet-wide confederation." Its sci-fi attraction aside, it is the dream of the planners, and behind them always stand the cops. I don't want to work in a "widget" factory linked up by micro-computers to other "production/distribution units." This is what capital already plans; it is the language of the multi-nationals.

Stodder raises other problems, but his discussion of language distresses me the most. Capital is already foisting its own universal language on the world and destroying others at the rate of *fifty a year*. This "biblical curse of Babel" that Stodder talks so contemptuously of is what has given the species its rich diversity, and to advocate its elimination is to unwittingly line up with the genocidal logging and development enterprises in the Philippines and Brazil; it is to approve of the cultural obliteration of small tribal bands whose fragile infrastructure is ripped apart by the arrival of the modern world into their jungle or forest sanctuary, in effect taking people who are in perfect harmony with their environment and turning them into busboys at a Manila MacDonalds.

"Let a thousand tongues and literatures bloom!" is exactly the situation which prevailed *before* the emergence of the modern era, but the "cooperative, planet-wide confederation of ecologically-based autonomous communities" will most assuredly have only one—computer language, computer culture. Dugan's and Stodder's dream of a perfectly coordinated existence, borne as it is out of the chaos this system produces, may perhaps originate out of admirable motives, but it is really only more of the same.

Continued on Page 7

they have to be the same people? what if each of us "worked" one year out of our whole lives? The letter from Gypsy Damian Lawless (FE Nov. 19, 1981) reasons that "In order to produce a tractor, land that could otherwise grow food must be used for factories and dug up for the metals and petroleum needed to produce the tractors..." This is like saying that if you are building houses you must never make a ladder—it will use up too much wood! The most elementary economic reasoning will show that the amount of extra food grown with the addition of a few tractors more than make up for the small amount of land—preferably poorly soiled land—taken out of cultivation. Lawless goes on to say that tractors are only useful with monoculture and chemical fertilizers—but this is nonsense as well. (S)he accepts the definitions of capital as immutable.

In conclusion, to sing my old song on once more, we need to get past the left-intellectual luxury of lovely vague blanket negotiations—blankets in which we then cuddle up, soft and warm from thinking through the hard question: What the hell do we want? I don't mean a lot of abstract abstractions; what's in your tool box?

Jim Stodder  
Wivenhoe, England

## fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a co-operative project, published by a group of friends who are in general, but not necessarily complete agreement with the articles herein. Each segment of the paper represents the collective effort of writing, typesetting, lay-out and proofreading.

No, you haven't missed an issue; this is Vol. 17, No. 2 and is our second issue of the year (see P. 1 story for more on this). Also, there is no Vol. 16; we skipped it to have the volume numbers correspond with our first year of publication—1965.



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## AD NOT SEXIST

FE Note: The following is a response to a criticism made by the Youth International Party in San Francisco that an ad by an anarchist commune which sought exclusively a female roommate was sexist. It appeared in the Nov. 19, 1981 FE.

### FifthestateLand:

Three years ago a group of us in Columbia, Missouri formed a living collective in a conscious effort to put our own theories of anarchy into practice—i.e. to effect collective self-management of our own living space in a manner consistent with individual autonomy. Initially we had two three-bedroom houses. We decided that we wanted each of our households to be sexually integrated, and that it would be best to keep the overall number of men and women about equal. This works out to having two women and one man in one house and two men and one woman in the other.

Our collective is currently seeking a woman to move into the house I share with another man. To insure greater privacy for all concerned we plan to convert what is presently our kitchen into a bedroom this summer. As soon as this is finished, we hope to find a woman who is an anti-ideological, non-moralistic anarchy creator to join our collective. There are a number of reasons that we specifically seek a woman. The most important one as far as I'm concerned is quite simply that my housemate and I think it would be more satisfying to have a woman as the third member of our household than a man. (We've lived with both at various times.) You'd have to know us to understand why, but the reasons have nothing to do with hatred of men or desires of dominating women.

Secondly, there is the matter of collective policy. We seek to overcome the patriarchal customs of compulsory sex segregation. The distrust, fear, misunderstanding, fantasizing, and marrying of members of the opposite sex, which has served to maintain patriarchy, has been largely a product of dichotomous male/female subcultures. Men need opportunities to express positive "feminine" characteristics; women are increasingly empowering themselves with qualities which make them unattractive. We seek to create a living environment which helps support and encourage these tendencies.

Having said all this I have no desire to engage in a political polemic with the "mildly disturbed" Youth International Party of San Francisco. I am tired of people scoring petty political points on each other by righteously applying epithets to one another. If you can create something

draw them into the struggle in as many ways as we can conceive—and that means addressing *their* concerns, not imposing ours on them.

It doesn't work to criticize people for not being revolutionary when they haven't even gotten to the point of being determinedly reformist yet. Preaching at people seldom changes minds. They have to learn themselves, and one way they'll learn is by engaging in reformist and reactive (anti-"Reaganist") struggles. Of course, it's inadequate in the long run. But there'll never be a long run if we don't learn to focus effectively on the short run. We have to crawl before we can walk, run, and fly.

Love and Rage,  
Chris Nielsen  
3925 NE 15th  
Portland OR 97212

## NO BLACKMAIL

### Folks:

Virtually everyone recognizes the excessiveness of the nuke issue. Please! Let's not succumb to such blackmail & extortion. Eclipsed? Let's tango toward our apogee.

Por la cumbre,  
Paula Z.  
San Francisco

## CAPITALIST APOLOGY

### Dear Fifth Estate:

Originally I was going to write you a really angry letter, but as I had to do the washing up to clear a place for the typewriter, you've missed out on the bitter irony and sarcastic comments that went through my head while my hands slid through the suds. The source for the anger has been your article "Gift Exchange and the Imagination" (FE Jan. 19, 1982). In the past I've found your paper thought provoking, dynamic, etc. and in some ways an inspiration. That is why I take exception to the reactionary article you printed.

When I read "Capital is wealth taken out of circulation and laid aside to produce more wealth. Cattle devoured at a feast are gift, but cattle set aside to produce calves or milk are capital. All peoples have both and need both," I recognise the soft tones of the apologist for capitalism. Hyde's analysis of the gift is shallow, obscuring the way the gifts he talks about here would delight in joining you to "see them at Coyoacan."

He makes much of the terrible consequences (death, hungry toads, storm dam-

ty) of cigarette smokers relates to a great extent through offering each other cigarettes.

This is the limit of Hyde's view of social transformation: the development of a gift-community alongside capitalism as an alternative to the overthrow of capitalism. He merely restates the views of a bohemian current that has surfaced in several forms (eg, hippies) over the last hundred and fifty years. This current has offered the world plenty of platitudes and its begging bowl, but it has been unable to confront itself and the world which begot it.

Dana Ferentes  
London, England

## FIGHT FEAR

### Friends:

What we proclaim is the right to well-being: well-being for all! But, if plenty for all is to become a reality, capital must cease to be private property. Hence, there must be expropriation.

But expropriation means revolution.

Also, if well-being for all is to become a reality, we must destroy the possibility of nuclear war. The State called "United States of America," among others, makes nuclear war possible. Hence, that State, among others, must be destroyed.

But that means revolution in North America.

So, don't write "NUCLEAR WAR ERUPTS" (see FE, Jan. 19, 1982) and play with the devil's testicles. Write:

REVOLUTION ERUPTS IN NORTH AMERICA!

and fight the fear and despair the devils want all the people to feel.

Kropotkin  
Warsaw NY

## SPARTS/FUNGS

### Dear FE (aka dwindling band of anarchos):

Just got hold of your November issue to see what the flap with the Sparts was all about. Liked the article. Any further info on the Soviet nerve gas the Sparts dismiss as a fungus?

I know the Sparts are more mouth than action; so I doubt that you were concerned with their "See You at Kronstadt" headline. But if they ever should try to give you any real trouble, I and I suspect a good number of my friends out here would delight in joining you to "see them at Coyoacan."

A. Baron  
Ypsilanti

(For a follow-up on the nerve gas contro-

# DETROIT SEEN

Thanks to those of you who so promptly answered your subscription renewal letters we sent out after the last issue. Thanks, also, for sending along your comments on the paper; it's always good to get your feelings about our effort, even if it's sometimes critical. And a special appreciation to those who contributed money beyond the price of their subscription. If you haven't mailed your renewal letter back yet and intend to, please don't make us have to spend more money on postage; it could much better be spent elsewhere. Also, this is your last opportunity to subscribe at the old rate of \$4.

Thank you as well to our Italian comrades in Florida who raised a goodly sum for the world libertarian press at several picnics this winter and who sent us a portion of it. Using their activity as an example, the Fifth Estate sponsored a benefit concert at the end of January for some of the same publications and raised \$300.00 which was split thusly: Fifth Estate, \$75; Work & Pay, San Francisco, \$25; Rivista Anarchia, Milano, Italy, \$25; L'Internazionale, Genova, Italy, \$25; Black Flag/Anarchist Black Cross, London, \$50; Ann Arbor Anarchist Print Co-op, Ann Arbor, Michigan, \$40; Open Road, Vancouver, B.C., \$25; and Protest and Survive, Detroit anti-nuke group, \$35. We hope our successful event, modeled after the tireless efforts of the Italian comrades, will spur others to undertake similar events in their own areas. And please be advised, this is not intended to get you raising funds for us in particular; there are numerous publications, political prisoners, anti-nuke efforts or best of all, your own project, that need funding.



P. Solis with proceeds from libertarian benefit.

Times are tough in the Motor City where it's a depression, not a recession.

More economic crime: As of April 1, all children under the age of four are required by Michigan law to be belted into a child car seat. This may seem fine to those of us who cringe every time we see a car roaring along with a toddler leaning on the dashboard just waiting to become a flying projectile, but this turns out to be yet another burden on the poor. The kid-car seats cost between \$35 and \$75 so if you have a number of small children and little money, you apparently have the choice of leaving the family at home or watching out for the flashing beanies...

Poor E. Dale Lee, the now ex-editor of Wayne State university's campus paper, who had a penchant for racist and amateurish journalism, got bounced from his job for "obscenity." Lee apparently got a hold of our Nov. 19, 1981 issue excoriating him for his reactionary views, and saw something he really liked, for a few days later he ran a banner headline in the school paper shouting "FUCK AUTHORITY"—this from a self-proclaimed lover of the FBI! Lee's liberal detractors on the school's publication committee seized upon this as an excuse to dump him from the paper and left E. mumbling about how he had made a mistake in printing it and that he had read it in a 'leftist newspaper.' No excuses; good-bye, E.

Rock Against Racism? Well, not always. The fifteen Nazi punks who were chased off the streets of Ann Arbor March 27 by





—drawing by Stephen Goodfellow

For too long we have gone on like sleepwalkers as the weapons of total extermination were manufactured and readied. Now it is becoming clear to even the most myopic that nuclear war threatens not only the present configurations of social and political relations, but *all of life*.

Such a war (which cannot even be described as a "war" if we are to maintain a sense of human proportion) would be an act of total, absolute destruction: destruction of human beings, destruction of human culture, destruction of the ecosphere. For all practical purposes nothing would survive the blast, the heat, the radiation and the destruction of the ozone layer, and all the intermingled secondary and tertiary effects of all-out nuclear confrontation.

Everything must pale before the fear and dread arising from the contemplation of such an event. It is unique in human history. There is nothing to which we can compare it. "The Bomb," —that phrase, em-

we underwrite the military machine, and serve it in a myriad of ways, here training future technicians, there working on some small part for an aircraft carrier, there simply failing to do anything about it. Somewhere in the back of our minds we know what it will lead to. But we suppress this thought. He notes, "We don't want to face the fact that we are potential mass killers."

I would argue that if we want to break out of our paralysis, we must begin to distinguish the structural relations of this weapons system, its historical drive, and its cultural manifestation. It isn't fate; we are not an undifferentiated mass of lemmings heading for the sea. Political, technical and organizational decisions are being made. There is a structure, there is a mechanism, there is a leadership and a direction, no matter how blind. If we are to find our way out of this labyrinth, to stop the "drift and thrust towards World War III,"

in our world, no one directs that force . . ."

True, bureaucrats, administrators, scientists and politicians do in a sense direct that force. They make decisions to fund and organize the Manhattan Project, for example. But it is clear that they do not see where their activity is leading them. The thrust of a whole society, of a whole epoch, impels them. Their discoveries transform their politics. Technology, as British historian E.P. Thompson puts it, "implodes" on politics. Technology now shapes politics. It is no longer meaningful to assume that the steady increment of arms represents the decisions of political leaders acting more or less "rationally" in response to what they perceive as the moves of their opponents. "Weapons innovation," Thompson observes, "is self-generating. The impulse to 'modernize' and to experiment takes place independently of the ebb and flow of internation-

nicians, whose whole training and rationale is that of war, and who can by no conceivable argument be said to represent the rational interests of any economic or political formation . . ."

As Nigel Calder says in the very first line of his book, *Nuclear Nightmares*, "Strategies for possible wars are already inscribed in the guidance mechanisms of the missiles." And Herbert York, a physicist who helped develop the atomic bomb and who was later Director of the Livermore Radiation Laboratory and a top official in the Defense Department under Eisenhower and Kennedy, warns in his book *Race to Oblivion*:

" . . . the over-all complexity of systems is already leading us to a situation in which the response to a hypothetical future attack will be so complicated and the time in which to decide what to do will be so short that it will be necessary to turn to automatic computing machines for the purpose. If we continue with the present style of technological approach to defense problems, the inclusion of human beings in the decision-

ployed almost affectionately to describe the power of the highly complex weapons system—has more power over us than the fact of its material destructive capacities. It is like a fetish which we have wrought and which now holds us in its mysterious and absolute power, godly and demonic. We are reminded of Robert Oppenheimer's utterance when he saw the first mushroom cloud wafting over the New Mexico desert, a verse from Hindu scripture, "I am Death, destroyer of worlds."

The power of this Thing—how do we confront it? It pervades all of life. How easy it would seem in comparison if there were one great "Doomsday Machine" which we could assault and defuse. But the nuclear war machinery seems all of a fabric, tied to every sphere of society. Where is the fuse to this Bomb? Where do we begin to challenge its power over our destiny?

Time is limited. Everyone feels the "inexorable drift" towards war. The generals are talking about it; the strategists are talking about it; the politicians are talking about it. It is planned every day in think-tanks and war rooms. Newer weapons are being developed at this very moment, weapons which lower the threshold for war, bringing the machinery closer to conflagration. The weapons are being produced everywhere. And we continue to pay our taxes for them, to work in industries which directly or indirectly feed into this machinery, and to go about our daily lives trying to forget the imminence of detonation.

It appears as if an enormous tidal wave of circumstances, an inertia which is unstoppable, is sweeping over us. The enormity of the process has an almost paralyzing effect upon us. At any moment, an accident, a miscalculation, a new destabilizing technological development, or war rhetoric pushed a little too far, could sweep away the world like a house of cards in a nuclear gale. And yet no one person seems to be in control of what C. Wright Mills described as "the drift and thrust towards World War III," not even the President or the First Secretary. As Peter Sedgwick has remarked, "War is possible . . . as the final unforeseen link in a causal chain forged at each stage by the previous choice of some ruling class. World War Three could burst out as 'something that no one willed'; the resultant of competing configurations of social forces."

The problem, the contradiction between human responsibility and the tidal wave of circumstances which combine to create results unforeseen by anyone, has led many people on the one hand to comment on the "tragic dimensions" of the predicament, its fatedness, while on the other hand to indicate a generalized, universal responsibility for it. Both viewpoints contain some truth, and both are inadequate. Both exist simultaneously within the same cultural position. The forces which shaped the mechanisms of war seem an inexorable as they are impersonal, beyond anyone's reach. But all are touched by them. The popular expression of our dilemma seems simple enough: *We threaten to destroy ourselves*. But when we start to consider the social atomization which pits each of us individually against the massive edifice of the technological society, with its enormous sum of working parts, rushed along by an automatism of its own, each part blindly doing its own isolated task unconscious of the total result, then the paralysis sets in once more.

Jonathan Schell, in a recent series for the *New Yorker* magazine, describes our predicament since the beginnings of "the Bomb" as a "strange double life" of forgetfulness and preparation for suicide. We deny reality;

# DISMANTLING THE NUCLEAR SOCIETY

we must begin by defining the structure of that mechanism.

## Technology Implodes On Politics

"The immediate cause of World War III," as C. Wright Mills observed as far back as 1958, "is the preparation for it." Yet the appearance of this unprecedented problem emerges from the convergence of a long line of obscure political and technical developments which seem to have a self-augmenting inertia all their own. Fate *does* seem to play a role—the knowledge which makes nuclear weapons possible cannot after all be placed back into the Pandora's box whence it came. As Schell notes,

"As long as that knowledge is in our possession, the atoms themselves, each one stocked with its prodigious supply of energy, are, in a manner of speaking, in a perilously advanced state of mobilization for nuclear hostilities, and any conflict anywhere in the world can become a nuclear one. To return to safety through technical measures alone, we would have to disarm matter itself, converting it back into its relatively safe, inert, nonexplosive nineteenth-century Newtonian state—something that not even the physics of our time can teach us how to do."

An enlightening discussion of this problem can be found in physicist Werner Heisenberg's *Physics and Beyond*. In a chapter on the responsibility of the scientist, he tells of the day when he and other German scientists held captive by Allied troops heard about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. "I had reluctantly to accept the fact," he recalls, "that the progress of atomic physics in which I had participated for twenty-five long years had now led to the death of more than a hundred thousand people." When one of his colleagues raised the question of their guilt, Heisenberg disagreed, replying,

" . . . If Einstein had not discovered relativity theory, it would have been discovered sooner or later by someone else, perhaps by Poincaré or Lorentz. If Hahn had not discovered uranium fission, perhaps Fermi or Joliot would have hit upon it a few years later . . . For that very reason, the individual who makes a crucial discovery cannot be said to bear greater responsibility for its consequences than all the other individuals who might have made it. The pioneer has simply been placed in the right spot by history, and has done no more than perform the task he has been set."

Of course, we should keep in mind that these scientific discoveries did not take place in a political or moral vacuum, and that scientists, like everyone else, are moral beings, and hence responsible for their actions. They are pushed along, but they also push. They suffer from what has been called the "mental virus" of the "technological imperative," the mindless pursuit of innovation without regard to its implications. However, this technological imperative is deeply imbedded within our culture. As Schell points out, the scientist cannot really foresee the path of his work, nor can he determine it, for "while science is without doubt the most powerful revolutionary force

al diplomacy, although it is given an upward thrust by each crisis or by each innovation by the 'enemy.'"

Planning takes place in long waves. Deborah Shapley has defined this incremental pressure as "technology creep" owing to its "gradual, inconspicuous, bureaucratic character."

For example, neutron bombs and cruise-type missiles have been talked about since the early 1960's, and were being developed long before anyone ever heard of the SS-20 missile, to which they are purportedly a response. Before they were developed, MAD (mutually assured destruction) wasn't a political/strategic policy but a military reality that had to be accepted. But technological innovation changed the rules of the game.

It was Henry Kissinger who came up with a model describing the three stages of military doctrine that a nuclear power goes through (the terms are his, not mine):

- 1) "Under-appreciation": a more efficient destructive agency but tied to conventional war concepts;
- 2) "Over-appreciation": total reliance on nuclear weapons; deterrence through the threat of massive retaliation to "punish" an aggressor;
- 3) "Flexibility": the possibility of a lower threshold, smaller weapons, so-called "limited" nuclear war.

These stages followed innovations in technology. The "new strategy" of "flexible response," "limited nuclear war," and "first strike"—which is nothing new at all, if one considers that military planners always seek ways to gain an advantage—is coming to the fore because of technological innovation which raises such possibilities to the military planners.

As Thompson points out,

"Weapons, to be sure, are things. Their increment is not independent of political decisions. But politics itself may be militarized: and decisions about weaponry now impose the political choices of tomorrow. Weapons, it turns out, are political agents also . . . Weapons and weapons systems are never politically neutral . . . the refinement of nuclear weaponry has been steadily eroding the interval in which any 'political' option might be made. The replacement of liquid by solid fuel means that rockets may now stand in their silos, instantly ready. The time for delivery has contracted: in the mid-1970's the time required for the interhemispheric delivery of nuclear bombs had shrunk to about ten minutes, and now it is perhaps less. This hair-trigger situation, combined with increasing accuracy of missiles and automated electronic reaction systems has encouraged fantasies that a war might actually be launched with advantage to the aggressor ('taking out' every one of the enemy's ICBM's in their case-hardened silos), or that a 'limited' war might be fought in which only selected targets were 'taken out.'

In such a hair-trigger situation, the very notion of 'political' options becomes increasingly incredible. The persons who decide will not be a harassed President or First Secretary (perhaps not even available at the moment of emergency) but a small group of military tech-

nies, the inclusion of human beings in the decision-making loop will seriously degrade the system. Thus, here, too, the power to make life-and-death decisions is passing from the hands of statesmen and politicians to lower-level officers and ultimately to computing machines and the technicians who program them." (It may be unnecessary to note that what York fears is the removal of politicians from the "decision-making loop," and that the decision to annihilate millions of people will no longer be made by people like himself and those he serves but by technicians and machines.)

"The machinery had caught us," said Frank Oppenheimer about his and others' participation in the Manhattan Project even after Germany had been defeated and the Nazi threat which had motivated many of the scientists had disappeared. Looking back, it seems that all of us are more enmeshed in the machinery than ever. If the military is trapped within its technological inertia, what does this say about the political autonomy of those of us for whom the decisions are being made? All of life is threatened by the possibility of a computer error, mistaken calculations, a break somewhere in the human or technical hierarchy of obliteration.

## Rise of the Nuclear State

This "technology creep," and this undoing of societies and whole cultures, has its precedent, apart from the special circumstances of nuclear annihilation which we face today. It can be traced back to the explosion of invention which begins in the late Middle Ages and which culminates in the rise of industrial capitalism. In Lewis Mumford's words, "Whatever was lacking in the outlook of the seventeenth century, it was not lack of faith in the imminent presence, the speedy development, and the profound importance of the machine." A whole spectrum of activities, "seemingly inconsiderable perhaps in themselves"—the compulsive duty to invent, an uncritical desire to make use of the new creations, the rise of the money economy and bourgeois book-keeping, the exploration of new lands and the displacement of the tribal peoples who inhabited them—"had at last formed a complex social and ideological network . . ." Old forms of life and association were swept away as if by a bomb, and a world was undone—or rather, many worlds were undone.



The foundations for the "drift and thrust" of industrial technology were firmly laid. The technology was not simply an aggregate of machines and abstract knowledge, but a new social system, a social organization. Langdon Winner has observed, "Technologies are structures whose conditions of operation demand the restructuring of their environments." Of course, he is referring to the human environment. Every dimension of society is reshaped. Nothing is left unchanged.

Eighteenth century faith in progress flowed from science, that of the nineteenth century from mechanization. But mechanization finds its most prolific manifestation in warfare, and the dream of progress culmin-

ates in the slaughter of World War I. Mary Kaldor has written,

"The concept of 'weapons system' can be said to have originated in the first prolonged period of high peacetime military spending, namely the Anglo-German naval arms race before World War I. Socially, the rise of the concept may be likened to the replacement of tools by machines: whereas formerly the weapon was the instrument of man, it now appears that man is the instrument of the weapon system: for a weapon system demands a rigid technical division of labour that admits of little variation in the social organization of the men operating it. Equally, the weapon system, like the machine, guarantees the existence of certain types of industrial capacity required for its manufacture."

Military organization and technics simply followed the pattern of all mechanization. The mechanization of war corresponded to the mechanization of labor and of all social life. As Mumford wrote in his classic, *The Myth of the Machine*,

"Society, awed by its indisputable success in mechanization, had begun to obey its own automatic system, and every kind of activity was geared to an accelerated quantitative expansion of territory, the expansion of population, the expansion of mechanical facilities, the expansion of production rates, capital gains, incomes, profits, and consumable wealth. Behind all these subsidiary phenomena stood the expansion of scientific knowledge, the prime mover in this whole process. The 'Automation of Automation' had begun."

The state underwent this same process of "automation" as well. As Jacques Ellul observed in *The Technological Society*, "The whole edifice was constructed little by little, and all its individual techniques were improved by mutual interaction." But the "irrational" and uncooperative individual does not conform to the needs of the machine. "He rebels too easily. He requires an agency to constrain him, and the state had to play this role . . ." The state had to become "coherent" like the system which it administered and whose interests it defended. "Thus the techniques of the state—military, police, administrative, and political—made their appearance."

### Mechanization Culminates in World War

As we have said, this period of mechanization and rationalization culminates in World War I. This war both destroys an old world and lays the basis for the new: from its devastation emerge the new totalitarian state machines of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, as well as the penetration by technology of every sphere of life. And this period culminates in World War II, from which coalesces a new form of megatechnic state, and the energy form and the military form corresponding to that state: the nuclearization of power, physical and political power.

In the struggle by the allied nations against nazism we see a convergence of methods. Hitler, Stalin and Roosevelt actually represent three competing forms of the same megatechnic state system, in which the government apparatus, the military machine, the corporations and industrial organizations, and the scientific-technical establishments converge into an institution comparable only to, but far surpassing, the ancient centralized slave states of the Pyramid Age—bureaucratic, military machines led by powerful rulers and aided by scientific-priestly elites. They are all characterized by political absolutism (in the case of Roosevelt, the extraordinary war powers of the presidency), military

the U.S.S.R. do not so much *have* military-industrial complexes "as they *are* such complexes." In both, the military machine "stamps its priorities on the society as a whole."

### Nuclearism Crowns a Social System

But we must be even more emphatic than this—the arms system flows from a certain social content and a vision (or lack of vision). It is the pinnacle of the society's creative and destructive powers, its skeletal frame, a model of its entirety, the incarnation of its spiritual self. Just as there is no longer any distinction between nuclear and conventional war, there is no longer any distinction between the military and non-military modes of the economy.

The nuclear weapons system is the crown of this social system. Nuclearism is a politics, a culture, and a paradigm for the relations of power and domination within that culture. As Mills wrote, "The accumulation of military power has become an ascendent end in itself," beyond any notion of "national interest." War is the structural center of the modern state. The military machine reflects the character of an entire society wired for destruction, its drive, and the direction of that drive. The Bomb is more than an inert Thing: it is a system of labor, of hierarchy, of production, of power. As Thompson writes,

"There is an internal dynamic and reciprocal logic here which requires a new category for its analysis. If 'the hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, the society with the industrial capitalist,' what are we given by those Satanic mills which are now at work, grinding out the means of human extermination? I have reached this point of thought more than once before, but have turned my head away in despair. Now, when I look at it directly, I know that the category which we need is that of 'exterminism'."

No human purpose, not even the most evil, is served any longer by the military machine and the preparation for war. But the elites are trapped within their own procedural rationality, the concatenation of "practical next steps" which cannot see beyond its nose. The dirty business of military strategy has, like many other areas of human activity, become banalized and absurd by its own bureaucratization. With Mills, we have witnessed the rise of the cheerful robot, the technological idiot and the crackpot realist. "The atrocities of our time," wrote Mills in *The Causes of World War Three*, "are done by men as 'functions' of a social machinery—men possessed by an abstracted view that hides from them the human beings who are their victims, and as well, their own humanity. They are inhuman acts because they are impersonal. They are not sadistic but merely businesslike; they are not aggressive but merely efficient; they are not emotional at all but technically clean cut."

Today strategy is another rationalized and computerized technique, organized along bureaucratic lines like all other technique—which is to say that it is corrupt, self-augmenting, and stupifying. It culminates in the computer rooms in which little radar blips signal the extinction of life, in which technicians control the fate of nations. They follow the military rationale which their machines have rendered obsolete. They have been trained to pull the levers of apocalypse. They are fascinated by it. It is their moment of truth.

Academic experts of the institutes and the military bureaucracies reflect this process of total banalization

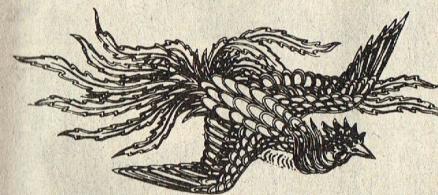
and the clearer the vision of successful war termination, the more likely war can be waged intelligently at earlier stages . . ."

And elsewhere he has written:

"Any American president should know that the only kind of war his country can fight, and fight very well, is one where there is a clear concept of victory—analogically, the marines raising the flag on Mt. Suribachi is the way in which a president should think of American wars being terminated."

Another expert from the Office of Civil Defense wrote a few years ago that although it might "be verging on the macabre" to say so, "a nuclear war could alleviate some of the factors leading to today's ecological disturbances that are due to current high-population concentrations and heavy industrial production."

Nevertheless, even the so-called "rational" experts of what is blithely referred to as the "defense community," who presently argue against the "counterforce" or "first strike" strategies and for the policy of nuclear deterrence through MAD are only slightly less insane than the Colin Grays. Deterrence is not a stationary state but a degenerating one. Technology created the strategy of "flexible response" as it interacted with ideology and bureaucratic wargaming. Within such a context deterrence cannot remain a balance which insures peace—it can only momentarily postpone inevitable war.



### To Confront the Megatechnic State

Perhaps we can now draw some conclusions from this regrettably long analysis:

1) There is a structure and a hierarchy to the military technical system which contradicts the common notion of generalized guilt and tragic fate. There is a decision-making process, a pyramid of power, a mechanism and a direction to it.

2) Yet this technological megamachine has grown out of elements within our culture that trace far back into our history. There is an automatism, an impelling, "synergistic" development which pulls the entire society along—different elements combine to create new unforeseen developments. This happens first gradually and later very rapidly. It happens to society as a whole, seeing its most startling, most far-reaching manifestations in the military sphere. "It is the past which imbues the arms race with its inner momentum." (Thompson) But it must be emphasized that it is systemic, shapes the entire society.

3) This development seems to have entered a terminal, exterminist stage, captured within its own bureaucratic, procedural rationality in which it no longer acts in the interest of anyone, not even in the interest

of disaster. Our present abundance, based on chemical- and petroleum-based fertilizers and fuel, large technologies and bureaucratic market networks, borrows from the future, pays for its food by the loss of soil. As farmer-writer Wendell Berry has remarked, "Our success is a catastrophic demonstration of our failure." Our whole system is run along bureaucratic, stratified and compartmentalized lines—a system which results by its very nature in moral abdication and incompetence. The wrong blueprints inevitably get used, as they were at Diablo Canyon. A small error or the failure of an insignificant piece of equipment can lead to unparalleled destruction.

It is therefore not enough to cast moral blame on the technicians and the directors of the megamachine. We must prepare to abolish the structure, to lay the foundations for a new culture which is not dominated by a massified technological apparatus. Such a movement demands the ruthless destruction of the myth of technology and technological progress. The false promise of technology cannot remain intact if we are to dismantle the exterminist system which is its ultimate result. We must look at all of its sides with the same critical eye with which we have had to learn to see its atomic power system—from mass media to cybernetics to the automobile to mechanized agriculture to genetic engineering. Today's technological promise is tomorrow's nightmare.

4) The social structure of the machine is by definition a structure of domination. We must oppose it because it negates the possibility of human freedom and a human scale. The decision-making process is the same whether it results in the decision to demolish Poletown for more factories, to build a nuclear plant, to dump chemical wastes in a river, to destroy farmland for "development," to declare martial law in Poland, or to gamble fifty million lives in a war strategy. Taking on the war machine means taking on this technological-political apparatus in all its forms. It means renewing forms of autonomy and creating new ones, creating face-to-face, egalitarian forms of association, undermining absolute power by creating a momentum of autonomous community and solidarity with the desire and the power to destroy it. It means confronting the megatechnic state.

But we must have no illusions about this process of resistance and renewal. The exterminist structure will not unmake itself. It will not de-weaponize itself. The megamachine will not suddenly turn back from the abyss, either of nuclear war or of ecological collapse, and resolve the problem which its very existence poses. This will never happen because it is precisely at the top of the megamachine—in the superpowers and the secondary powers—where turning back is impossible. It is there where crackpot realism rules, where technology creeps in command. It is there where the bureaucracies compete for influence and power, where they plan mad strategies of extinction to further their careers in the lunatic hierarchy. It is there where cold war becomes a vested interest. It is there where the inertia is the strongest. A movement against this machine can only come from below, organizing itself not to pressure the leaders to change their course, but to overthrow them altogether, dismantle the machine from which they derive their authority.

We must start by redefining the enemy: the enemy is not the common people held captive by the oppo-

extraordinary war-powers of the presidency), military regimentation and mechanization. Such a force could only have emerged "under the fusion heat of war," in Mumford's words. From this fusion of different power centers, "the modernized megamachine, commanded by 'absolute' power of destruction, emerged."

This event was as significant as the creation of the cosmic weapon itself: the appearance of a new form of state. And in order to maintain its effective operation after the immediate military emergency had passed, "a permanent state of war became the condition for its survival and further expansion." Eisenhower warned in his farewell speech in January 1961, "We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportion . . . Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society." He warned against "the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex," and "the danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

Contrary to Eisenhower's formulation, however, this process represents much more than the domination of old centers of power by the technicians; rather, it is a fusion of political, economic and technical power unrivaled in history. Politicians, academics, military men and scientists now move back and forth between the different loci of power within the megastate. Herbert York is an example; so is Alexander Haig, former NATO commander, then head of United Technologies, now Secretary of State. The Herman Kahns and the Henry Kissingers of the think-tanks all move freely between government jobs and "private" consulting firms. The government apparatus itself is no more than one administrative arm of one sector of the machine. In reality, the corporations, the military and the government function as a unitary whole. The political and electoral system, already an illusion which serves only to incorporate real or potential democratic and liberatory forces into the expanded control of the state, becomes, along with the mass media and the many local rackets for dependency and patronage, a propaganda system to mystify the real relations of power: the power of the megamachine and its weapons system.

The weapons system and its corresponding institutions—laboratories, bureaucracies, universities, think-tanks, industries, lobbyists, public relations (or rather propaganda) organizations, are, in Thompson's words, "transformed into inertial forces within society, whether bureaucratic or private in expression." They are interlocked with the government administration and surrounded by an enormous, insular, protective security apparatus. The nuclear state is by definition a police state. And at its very center: this Thing, the Bomb, the "fat boy," "Little Joe," Armageddon, the Death of Death, the Shatterer of Worlds.

And perhaps it is necessary to add that this megamachine cannot be reduced to capitalist greed, though capitalist greed (and bureaucratic greed) certainly is an aggravating factor. But the megamachine isn't confined to the private capitalist West. It represents the same configuration of power—with certain variations—in the state capitalist East. What constitutes it—both in the superpowers and in the peripheral powers who race to join the megatechnic order—is the drive for technological development, nuclearism, the massification of life, the consolidation of bureaucratic state power, and the permanent war economy. Thompson has made the interesting comment that the U.S. and

bureaucracies reflect this process of total banalization and stupefaction, this mediocrity of the spirit. Their precursor: Albert Speer: armaments, spectacle and stupidity. Moral stupidity. The "intellectual" planners of the strategic institutes—East and West—should ponder well the role that they actively play in the present drift and thrust towards extinction. Their banal ideas, void of creative strategies for survival of the human race and nurturing of the ecosphere, by playing the academic, think-tank roulette of "feasibility studies," come up with polity of the following stature:

From Colin Gray, present Director of National Security Studies at the Hudson Institute, and an adviser to Ronald Reagan, in an article entitled "Victory is Possible," in the Summer 1980 issue of *Foreign Policy*:

"Strategists do not find the idea of nuclear war attractive. Instead, they believe that an ability to wage and survive war is vital for the effectiveness of deterrence . . . victory or defeat in nuclear war is possible, and such a war may have to be waged to that point;

not in the interest of any one, however in the interests of the ruling elites. A long wave of technological revolution and social reorganization seems to be culminating in a holocaust, just as did the previous waves of development which we have outlined. But this is obviously a holocaust from which there will be no recovery.

It must be emphasized, however, that if the problem is systemic, this exterminist stage must be manifest in every sphere, which indeed, it is. The megamachine is more than its weapons system: the exterminist structure functions in our agriculture, our relation to the land, our techniques. The weapons system is just the tip of the iceberg. The entire megamachine appears to be faltering under its own weight in an unprecedented ecological crisis. If there were no weapons system, we would still face the possibility of extinction. Our agriculture, for example, has come under the sway of massification and mechanization. Its modernization caused the disintegration of the cultures and communities of farming and laid the basis for future agricultural

is not the common people but capture by the opposing exterminist systems. The enemy is the exterminist system and its accomplices on both sides. We must develop a *planetary identity*, not a national one. And we must begin to resist the state in all of its manifestations, declare our own war on the corporations, the institutes, the government and the military.

5) Finally, because we are all in some way responsible—if not for their decisions, then to those who we love and to everything that we desire—we must confront the machine within ourselves. It means to cease to be the pawns of the leaders and the dupes of their propaganda machines. It means uncovering the connections in our own lives. It means fighting the paralysis and the cynicism which make it possible for the slaughter to go on. For there is a reverse side to the crackpot realism of the masters of war, and that is the moral somnambulism, the false normality of business-as-usual, the daily reproduction of misery and passivity in our own lives as the command centers relay their messages and the targets are chosen.

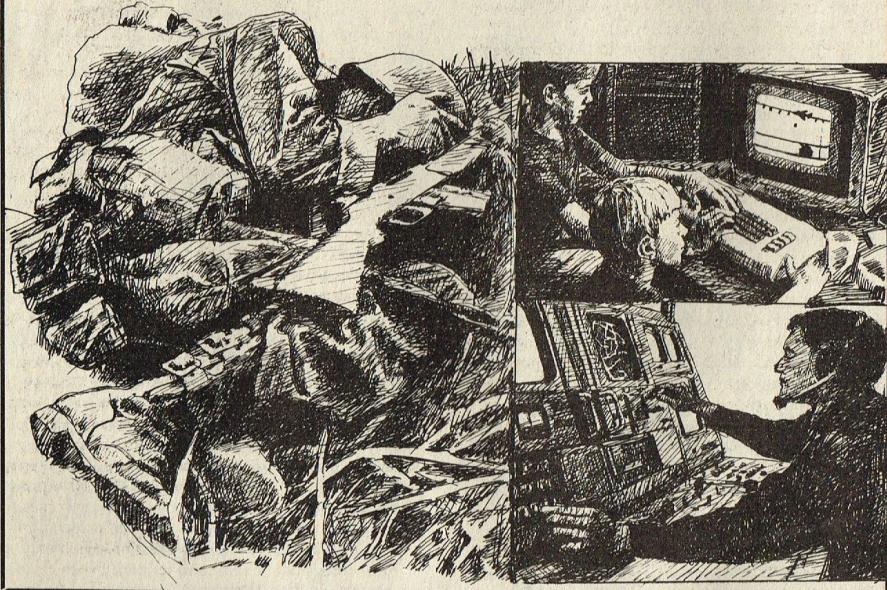
Transforming life is much more difficult, much more complex than signing a petition or begging the leaders to grant us all survival out of the kindness of their hearts. It is more problematic than attending demonstrations. It is much more difficult to recognize that this civilization is reaching its nadir and that the time has come for us to dismantle it and to create a new culture and a new way of life. Yet our very survival depends on just such a recognition and on just such an undertaking. It will take more courage and more imagination than any task ever faced in our long history on the planet. It will take a tremendous solidarity, not only with our fellow human beings around the globe, but with the land itself, from which all culture must emerge. And it will take more than a little luck and good fortune. But this work must be commenced, in our communities and within ourselves. Perhaps the imminence of losing our world will inspire us to win it back from the jaws of death.

—Primitivo Solis



This article is based on a talk given at a conference against nuclear war, held at Detroit's Grinning Duck Club on March 5, 6, and 7, 1982. The following articles and books were quoted in it: E.P. Thompson: "A Letter to America," in *Protest and Survive*, edited by Thompson and Dan Smith; "End of the Line," in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, January 1981; "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilization" in *New Left Review*, May-June 1980; Jonathan Schell: *The Fate of the Earth*; Nigel Calder: *Nuclear Nightmares*; Mary Kaldor, "The Significance of Military Technology," in Eide, A. and Thee, M., *Problems of Contemporary Militarism*; C. Wright Mills: *The Causes of World War Three*; Herbert York: *Race to Oblivion*; C. Gray and K. Payne: "Victory is Possible," in *Foreign Policy*, Summer 1980; Jacques Ellul: *The Technological Society*; Lewis Mumford: *Technics and Civilization*; *The Myth of the Machine*, see especially Vol. II, *The Pentagon of Power*, chapters 9, 10 and 11; Langdon Winner: *Autonomous Technology: Technics-Out-Of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought*.

# RECRUITMENT: MILITARY PUSHES POVERTY DRAFT



Prosecution of some fifty-five known resisters of draft registration was to begin in June. However, in an effort to avoid student protests and demonstrations, the government has decided to postpone prosecution until later in the summer. Also, according to an article in the *Detroit Free Press* (5/20/82), a recent Defense Department document has revealed that the administration, obviously intimidated by the anti-nuclear war movement, fears that litigation against these resisters will further stimulate that movement. When questioned about this document, the White House press secretary responded that the government's policy is still registration, not prosecution.

The registration prosecutions, though delayed, will eventually take place. Four batches of warning letters have already been sent to suspected offenders over the past year. The government hopes that the prosecution of a select number of these young men will scare the other 500,000 or more non-registrants into compliance. Nation-wide public protests are scheduled to occur on the first working day following the first prosecution of a registration resister. The Detroit demonstration will take place in front of the Federal

additional investigation and contingent prosecution. Another harassment bill has recently been introduced by Rep. Gerald Solomon (R-NY). The bill, which is not likely to pass, would deprive nonregistrants of any federal assistance they may receive, and would then deny them employment by the federal government or federally funded agencies.

The SSS has planned a massive publicity campaign for 1982 aimed at "encouraging" draft-age men to comply with registration. The campaign will include TV and radio advertising, letters, and copy-ready registration advertisements to be sent to high school administrators. SSS speakers will also be on hand for visits to high schools to discuss registration with students.

It is very difficult these days to come up with reliable figures for non-registration. During the past year and a half, the numbers have jumped back and forth between 1,000,000 and 500,000. SSS, of course, would have us believe that American youths are quietly and steadily complying with the law, and that since the March deadline there has been a marked increase in registration. Director Turnage recently reported

centages are being manipulated and that the true figures could prove embarrassing to the SSS and actually encourage additional offenders. It is also important to remember that many who registered unthinkingly have since become aware of the implications of registration and regret their decision. Many now say that they would never go along with a draft. Whatever it is, the number of non-registrants is high, and even that number does not present a true or total picture of the anti-war sentiment among American youth.

## New Government Strategy: the "Poverty Draft"

It has become apparent in the past few months that the administration and its military shadow have shifted strategies in their efforts to beef-up the armed forces; sensing the general antagonism toward registration, a hard and heavy emphasis has been placed on recruitment. The effects of this push are already clear; the *New York Times* (5/23/82) stated, "This may be the best recruiting year for the military since the draft ended in 1973, according to Pentagon figures."

Such tactics fit in neatly with Reaganomics and are clearly targeted at exploiting those who have been forced into financially precarious positions. Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), quoted in an article in the *U.S. News and World Report* (5/17/82) entitled "All Volunteer Force Gets New Lease on Life," explains the situation very simply: "Supply-side economics are working. It is supplying the military with volunteers." The educational and employment options of the poor and working classes have been systematically depleted while at the same time the military is allowed to fraudulently present itself as the only means of learning a viable new skill and is financially capable of offering more and more educational benefits. Just as the Reagan administration has succeeded in eliminating or drastically reducing student loan and grant programs, the military has implemented a massive and ostentatious recruitment campaign openly directed at college-bound high school seniors.

Both college-bound and employment-conscious young men and women are a prime target. The decision not to require women to register for the draft, for instance, ultimately does little to divert today's military planners from their objectives because women are being recruited in record numbers. On the surface, at least, the military has cleverly altered its attitude toward women. According to an article in the newsletter of the Central Committee of Conscientious Objectors, as early as 1977 the military effected a number of policy changes in order to lure women to pursue military careers. ROTC programs in high schools have for some time now included women, military academies greet them with open arms, and women can now receive flight training and training in other areas which previously excluded them. Women are no longer discharged for pregnancy; on the contrary, they are even equipped with maternity uniforms! All of these and other changes have been made in an attempt to obscure from public view the realities of a system which is inherently sexist and inhuman, a system which has been and continues to be very successful at turning women and men into submissive machines.

Recruiters, experts at masking this simple truth, have been making an increasing number of visits to high schools, and thus far they have been greeted with

full page ads for the Navy ("It's not just a job, it's an adventure"), the Army ("Be all you can be"), the Air Force ("Aim high. A great way of life"), the National Guard ("Great benefits. Now and for your future"), and the Marines ("Maybe you can be one of us. The few. The proud. The Marines"). Most every ad comes complete with toll free information telephone numbers and postage-paid business reply cards; the card for the Air Force even has a space for your social security number. The new ads overtly address themselves to the "college-bound" clearly delineating the educational benefits now being offered by the Army College Fund and the ROTC Scholarship Program. In a typical Army ad, a clean-cut, uniformed earnest-looking type stares boldly out at you, and the text reads:

"A lot of people who start college right after high school find they're not ready for it. That's a good reason to think about serving two years in the Army first. In the Army, you mature fast. You're given responsibility. And you begin to appreciate the value of an education. You also get generous financial benefits. In the Army, every dollar you save for college is matched two-for-one by the government in a special program. Then, if you qualify, the Army adds as much as \$8,000 more to that . . ."

The advertising propaganda campaign is only one aspect of this major push by the military to strengthen its position and expand its influence among working class youth. On April 29-30 the Defense Department sponsored a convention-type forum where it wined and dined some 200 Detroit-area high school counselors and administrators and held sessions on the Army, Navy and Air Force. The purpose of such a forum is patently obvious: what better way to get cannon fodder than to transform the schools themselves into the recruitment apparatus.

## Confronting the Recruiters

Even though opposition to registration is strong, this new tactic is potentially very dangerous primarily because within the sphere of the campaign's focus, there is nothing at all comparable to question the legitimacy of its outrageous claims and ridiculous promises. While the military has open access to schools, opposition voices lack the "acceptable credentials." The vulnerable potential recruits are never made aware of the fact that once caught by the military, they just may not qualify for the "special programs," that while the military offers training in a myriad of skills, soldiers don't have the freedom to choose the training they want. A young marine quoted recently in the April 1982 *Mother Jones* explains what happens: "Recruiters tell you all kinds of shit, like how they're gonna make you a computer programmer. Then you sign up and you find out they can put you wherever they want and there's *nothing* you can do about it." It should be common knowledge that of the many jobs the military trains its people to do, only nine per cent of those jobs are transferrable to civilian society. Countless young men and women are victims of the military's recruitment fraud, and to evidence this, recent statistics show that 114,900 soldiers per year go AWOL (which is 17% of all military personnel) and that 10% of last year's recruits received a less than honorable discharge.

It is advised that no individual or organization that

Court Building on Port Street at 4:00 p.m. for information; call C.A.R.D., at 833-8573, or the Fifth Estate, afternoons, at 831-6800). Protests against the training of draft board members, which began April 1st and will continue through August, have already been held in several parts of the country.

According to the May 1982 *Objector*, Selective Service System Director Major General Thomas Turnage reported on March 25 that the SSS will soon begin using Social Security numbers to identify resisters. The numbers will be matched with the numbers reported on registration cards in order to discover those names that do not appear in the registration files. SSS will then use IRS lists to find the addresses of the non-registrants. First-class reminder letters will be sent, and the names of those who still refuse to comply will then be turned over to the Justice Department for

ber of resisters now stands at 535,000. A quick review of such "official" reports publicized intermittently over the past few years make all too obvious the absurdity of "legitimate" government statistics and "authoritative" speculation.

We would prefer to believe what we see before our own eyes and what we hear first-hand. We know countless men who have not and will not register. Local draft counselors who have direct contact with draft-age men tell us that non-registration is incredibly high, especially among urban black youth; they are not necessarily resisting registration, they're ignoring it. They do not even consider it a real threat, and fewer and fewer young men feel the need to seek the help of draft counselors in making their decision to resist. It is certainly possible that the "official" per-

Locally, it is obvious that they have already zeroed in on working class neighborhoods clearly devastated by unemployment. Students' lockers are often decorated with slick army bumper stickers, while registration reminder posters hang outside the principal's office and free colorful brochures on all areas of the military sit neatly on the bookshelves in school libraries.

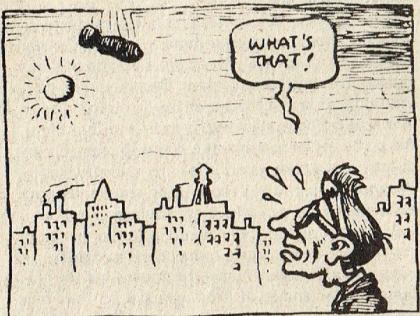
Many English classes use the popular *Scholastic Scope* magazine which attempts to encourage students to read by presenting material with youth appeal in clear and simple language. Last year, it generally contained only two or three advertisements, all for youth-oriented products like skin creams, shampoos, and Papermate pens. But recent issues have considerably more advertising space and, aside from ads for video games, the majority of this new space is devoted to

around us, and that we gotta stand up to the military and expose its motives at every opportunity. Passive resistance to registration and the draft, though necessary and admirable, are obviously not enough. We must confront the recruiters, defend and support insubordination and defiance within the ranks of the armed forces, and actively challenge the military's right to exist.

**FUCK THE DRAFT! FUCK RECRUITMENT!**  
**SMASH THE WAR MACHINE!**

(Much of the above information came from the following publications: *Resistance News*, National Resistance Committee, P.O. Box 42488, San Francisco CA 94142; and *The Objector*, CCCO, 2208 South Street, Philadelphia PA 19146.)

## FE Kid's Fun and Comix Page



### Dirty Dog the Clown's Tips on Nuclear War

Dear folks,

Here is a list of safety tips and advice for your paper. I have tried these techniques in testing areas and found them successful. With proper application there is no reason for anybody to get hurt in a nuclear war. If these techniques fail, however, I refuse to be held responsible as people do not always follow explicit instructions while they are severely injured.

My best wishes for you and your friends and may the coming apocalypse find you in good cheer and happiness.

Your friend and fall guy,  
Dirty Dog the Clown

### SAFETY TIPS FOR THE POST-NUCLEAR EXISTENCE:

1. Never use an elevator in a building that has been hit by a nuclear bomb, use the stairs.
2. When you're flying through the air, remember to roll when you hit the ground.
3. If you're on fire, avoid gasoline and other flammable materials.
4. Don't attempt communication with dead people—it will only lead to psychological problems.
5. Food will be scarce, you will have to scavenge. Learn to recognize foods that will be available after

the bomb: mashed potatoes, shredded wheat, tossed salad, ground beef, etc.

6. Put your hand over your mouth when you sneeze, internal organs will be scarce in the post-nuclear age.

7. Try to be neat, fall only in designated piles.

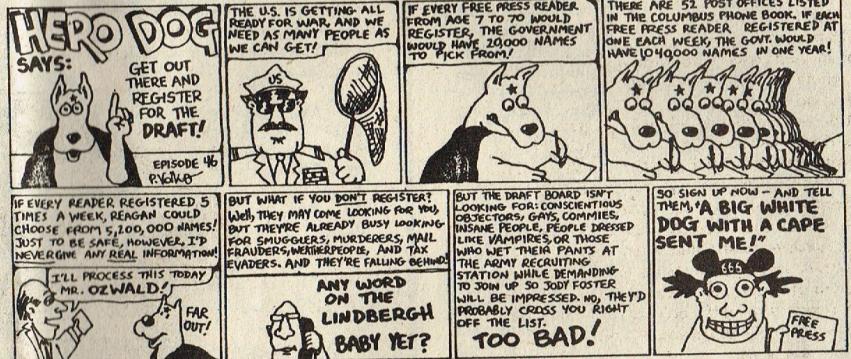
8. Drive carefully in "Heavy Fallout" areas, people could be staggering illegally.

9. Nutritionally, hundred dollar bills are equal to ones, but are more sanitary due to limited circulation.

10. Accumulate mannequins now, spare parts will be in short supply on D-Day.

### HOW TO TELL WHEN YOU ARE DEAD:

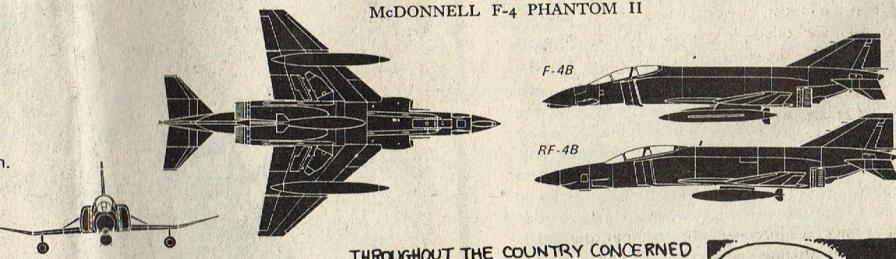
1. Little things start bothering you—little things like worms, bugs, ants.
2. Something is missing in your personal relationships.
3. Your dog becomes overly affectionate.
4. You have a hard time getting a waiter.
5. Exotic birds flock around you.
6. People ignore you at parties.
7. You have a hard time getting up in the morning.
8. *Playboy* magazine wants to interview you.
9. You no longer get off on cocaine.
10. You finally get time off from work.



-Columbus Free Press

### KIDS! CAN YOU IDENTIFY THIS PLANE?

McDONNELL F-4 PHANTOM II



THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY CONCERNED PARENTS QUESTION THEIR CHILDREN...



-Skip Williamson

# MURDER ON SEAL ISLAND

Continued from Page One

The first settlers arrived from France in 1774, led by Louis Antoine de Bouganville, and set up shop on the eastern half. It's hard to say whether Bouganville and friends were there in search of riches, but it's obvious that the Spanish, who forced the French off the island only two years after their arrival, knew that the island would play a large part in their plundering of the New World. The Spanish knew all to well that the Strait of Magellan was the doorway to the gold and raw materials that lay on the western side of South America and that it was the passageway to the long sought after Far East.

## Enter Britain

For the declining Spanish Empire, placing a fort on the eastern half of the island was a last chance move to keep its hands on the New World. But Spain's main contender at colonial rape and plunder, Great Britain, also espied the island's importance. Under the command of Commodore Jack "Foul Weather" Byron, the Crown established a military settlement towards the end of 1775 on the *western* side of Seal Island. Neither of the two groups knew of the other's existence, perhaps because of the continual driving rain, lack of communication (the two countries were not known for their warm feelings of friendship) or a combination of both. Whatever it was, when they both reached the shocking realization that they weren't alone, there was only one recourse — war! Well, almost. After both sides massed their naval fleets for a show-down in the choppy waters of the South Atlantic, the British backed off and removed their settlement in 1771 and left the Spanish to it. That is, until Spain gave them up, along with the then independent United Provinces of La Plata (Argentina), in 1811. Once again, tranquillity returned, although the island's wildlife had not gone unnoticed.

With the continuous growth of industry in Europe and the still-young United States of America came heavy demands for fine machine oil — oil which, for the most part, was only found in the bodies of whales in the North Atlantic, and had, until that time, been extracted at heavy costs to these behemoths. Realizing the monetary potential of the whales around Seal Island (and noticing the increasing demands of the upper classes for seal fur), a quick thinking entrepreneur from Germany, Louis Vernet, was granted governorship of the islands by Argentina in 1829, along with all the seal and fishing "rights" in the area. That was until Vernet seized a United States sealing vessel in 1831, for "illegally" hunting on the islands.



## Enter the United States

This marked not only the end of Vernet's governorship, but the beginning of the U.S. and British collusion on making certain that Argentina's claims to the island be completely ignored. M

## The Greatest Show On Earth

But where does this leave us? For many people, the recent Seal Island crisis is no different than some important sports match, with the spectators arguing over which team is better prepared for the game while they add up the day's wins and losses on both sides. And for "first-hand, up-to-date" reporting on the two teams, one can always turn to the T.V. news, which will not only bring you first-hand reports on the day's play, but will give an inside analysis of each team's potential via satellite as well. But this home team (home being either the latin or anglo parts of the world), propaganda never attempts to answer the question: Why are there thousands of soldiers on this island, all with itchy trigger fingers and dreams of glory? There are very few seals left to kill and rarely do islanders catch sight of a whale, yet two nations of different culture and language, located at opposite ends of the Earth are poised ready to once again turn the island's beaches red with blood.

Perhaps both countries want the oil that may be located offshore and on the disputed Antarctic Peninsula? Perhaps it's the sheep or the strategic location of Seal Island? Or could Great Britain be afraid of losing its Space Research Station, a station that is located on the island and is used for receiving satellite transmissions and for tracking of both "friendly" and "hostile" space probes? And of course, there's always that obscure concept of "honor."

And what about the United States and the Soviet Union? Why have they both shown more than a little interest in this war of buffoons? For the USSR, the chance of becoming closer allies with Argentina (they already rely on Argentina to supply a large part of their wheat imports), would not only put them that much nearer to the vast, untapped resources of South America, but could also insure their warships a safe passage around Cape Horn. For both nations, perhaps the prospect of a possible naval or submarine base in the South Atlantic, something that neither of them has, is quite alluring. Lacking a sufficient number of submarine "home bases," it's possible for the Soviet Union to have only 15 to 20 percent of its sub fleet out of port at any one time, while the U.S., with more "home bases," can deploy 65% of its fleet. A port in the South Atlantic would increase the at-sea percentage of either fleet, especially when one considers the extended traveling distances of the new Delta (USSR) and Trident (USA) class nuclear subs.

All of these questions, though, are things we can only speculate about since not only do governments *not* function logically during times of war, but the military activities of *any* nation state are open to neither "democratic" discussion nor debate. One cannot vote for or against the military, just as one cannot decide at the ballot box as to whether or not the state should exist. The state has never and shall never willingly renounce its "legitimacy" to power, its secrecy and its "right" to wage war.

Prime Minister Thatcher has told the world that British marines will bring back "freedom" to the islands and "liberate" its "British subjects." The May 23, 1982 issue of the English newspaper *The Sun*, shows a picture of happy "kelpers" — the name given to the island's inhabitants — and a British Commando "liberator," while the paper announces: "Cuppa For A Para" (translation: cup of tea for a paratrooper). But the problem here is that, regardless of Thatcher's and British news media's war rhetoric, these happy "kelpers" are *not* British citizens and are not allowed to be so. In fact, they are called "kelpers" so as to differentiate them from the "true" British who are either military personnel, scientists, or administrators for either the British government or the Falkland Island Company, which essentially owns the island and its "kelpers" lock, stock and barrel!

Certainly many of you have seen the photographs that appeared during the first days of this recent crisis, of happy islanders waving victory signs as they left planes in London, but you can bet that very few of them, if any, were "kelpers." They have essentially been trapped on the island since, not being considered British citizens, they have no Right to Abode in the United Kingdom. In fact, they are only allowed to visit the "mother country" once every two years, even though their lineage is directly traceable to Britain (there are a few "kelpers" in Britain at the moment, and the government said that they would "allow" them to stay there for the "duration").

Being descendants of Scotland, the first "kelpers" traveled to the Seal Island not because of their pioneering spirit, but because of poverty and oppression at home. Just as Gen. Julio A. Roca, during the 1880's, eradicated the Araucanian Indians to obtain more grazing land for Argentine cattle, so did the British, almost a century before, destroy the Celtic clans of Scotland to obtain pasture land for sheep. Systematically destroying Gaelic culture by the torch and sword, the expanding British industrial empire forced these clansfolk into an existence of severe poverty. For many the only chance of escape was to enter one of the growing factory towns like Glasgow or to become kelp harvesters for the expanding fertilizer industries on the Scottish isles of Mull, Raasay, Sky, Mingulay and Tiree, or Seal Island in the South Atlantic. Either north or south, their lives were the same.

**"They acted in the best traditions of the British marines. They inflicted casualties, but suffered none themselves."**

—Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Great Britain.

**"While the junta governs, I kill."**

—General Luciano Benjamin Menendez, Governor and leader of the Argentine troops on Seal Island.

**"As a military man, if my job is to blow people's heads off, I'll do it in the most efficient and effective way I have to."**

—Rear Adm. John "Sandy" Woodward, commander of the British fleet at Seal Island.

The "kelpers" who live on Seal Island probably find their living standards to be much better than that of their ancestors, but they are still second rate "subjects" in the eyes of the British government. Even if



called "civilized" states, of any state? I think not.

There is also a point here that is not so evident. Although the plans and orders to systematically liquidate human and animal life on this planet are given by the Thatchers and Galtiers of the world, to say that they are the reason and authority behind it is to give them a power they do not possess. It is the "ordinary citizens" that give the ramblings of mad men and women the power of authority. It is the soldiers and the "ordinary citizens" that make up their ranks, with their blind power and willingness to obey that gives these administrators of the final solution any authority at all. Only in those who execute the orders does lie the power, authority to the laws of modern society, internalized into our very being, physically, intellectually and morally. The "ordinary citizen" who lives, breathes and finally acts on the internalized laws of modern society is the true carrier of authority and it is against this internalization that we must rebel.

—Larry Talbott

**\*NOTE: Strangely enough, the May 3, 1982 issue of Newsweek magazine gave an interesting insight to the functioning of the Falkland Island Company: "Few economic benefits from the Falkland Islands Co. have ever flowed back to the 'kelpers'... From 1970 to 1974, fully 96 percent of the company's profits were distributed to the British shareholders. One result has been a continuing drop in the Falklands' population—from a peak of 2,392 in 1931 to about 1,800 today. Many of the kelpers have emigrated, forcing the company to import contract laborers who now make up one-quarter of the island's farming population."**

The keepers who do choose to stay—mainly farm manager and sheep shearers—earn wages of \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year. A Falklander can spend his working life in a company-owned house eating free company-supplied mutton at three meals a day. Company banks handle their accounts, and the company shipping line imports everything from marmalade to Land Rovers. But the firm can be a harsh overlord to its crofters. Retirees must surrender most benefits, and many end up virtually penniless."

## NON-ADMINISTERED WORLD

Continued from Page 2

Let me say it in clear terms: planning is impossible.

island be completely suppressed. Most accounts of the Seal Island, either knowingly or unknowingly — I suspect the former — support the U.S. and British version of this history. That is, that Britain sent a task force force out to the islands and, claiming sovereignty, evicted Vernet's settlement and colonized the island. In reality, it was the United States that mustered the task force, headed by the warship Lexington, and sailed off to destroy the Argentine settlement in 1832. But with strife and civil war at home, the Argentines weren't about to engage in a war with the U.S. and decided it was best to forget about Vernet and the island for the time being.

### England Never Forgets

Always ready to fill a vacuum, especially when there's money involved, the British armed forces occupied Seal Island in 1833 and, true to the dictates of imperialism, the blood did flow.

Incorporating the South Sandwich Islands, South Orkney Islands, South Georgia and the Antarctic Peninsula (650,000 sq. miles of the Antarctic, to which Argentina also lays claim), under the administration of Seal Island (called the "Falkland Administration Centre and Dependencies" by the British), the British government allowed various countries to wage a murderous war on the whales and seals in the area with the Falkland Island Company, which had been given complete control over the islands, extracting large duties which were divided between the company and the Empire.

From the time of Vernet's governorship and until the end of the 19th century, the islands, especially S. Georgia, were converted from what Capt. James Cook described as "fabulous, fur-coated beaches" in 1775, to barren waste lands where the seal was all but extinct. At its peak, the sealing industry had reached the point of taking *one million* skins annually. Not content with turning the beaches red with blood, these newly-implanted Europeans turned to the open seas for fresh game.

From 1904 until the onset of World War II in 1939, 120,000 whales, half of all the whales caught in the world, lost their lives to the South Seas harpoon, insuring that the industrial world could keep its machines and weapons well oiled. In a rather macabre sense, it was the wholesale slaughter of these giants of the deep which made it possible for governments to organize the murder of millions of people during World Wars I and II. What goes around, comes around.



(As an aside, it's interesting to note that towards the end of this whaling boom, the British government became concerned over the dwindling sightings of whales. Not for ecological reasons, although there might have been a pinch of that in there somewhere, but because they feared the extinction of profits. To combat this problem, they tried to impose not a limit on whaling, but rather a ruling that every part of the animal must be used and that it *must be processed on South Georgia*, insuring the continued payment of duties. In response, Norwegian whaling companies devised the idea of the "factory ship" — a ship which allows whales to be "processed" at sea and makes the verification of the amount of whales killed impossible. Competition means progress.)

### Truth — The First Casualty

But there are some things that we do know. While this modern day version of bread and circuses is temporarily taking some British and Argentine minds off of the economic and social hardships at home (shortly before the outbreak of fighting between the two nations, Argentina saw some of the most violent demonstrations against the ruling junta and rioters burnt cities from one end of the country to the other in Britain), it is not a war *against* imperialism, as so many leftists have attempted to portray it. It is impossible for any country to exist outside the two economic spheres of influence that are controlled by the major imperialist leaders, the Soviet Union and the United States. It's obvious from the latest war, the weapons used, and the economic sanctions that have been applied, just how true this statement is. And although no one should have to be convinced of the imperialist nature of Great Britain, it seems ridiculous to me that people cannot see the same aspirations on the part of an expanding Argentina. Does anyone really believe that Argentina's relationship to Seal Island would be any different, except for changing a few laws, the national language, and informing motorists that they must now drive on the right side instead of the left side of the road?



Also, this is *not* a fight for freedom or honor. We need not go into the history of the Argentine junta since it assumed power in 1976. The murder of over 30,000 Argentines either by or with the sanction of that country's military and police is sufficient proof of the junta's dedication to these concepts. But what about Britain?

the British come out as the "glorious victors" of this murderous war, the "kelpers" still won't be able to own the houses they live in or the stores they shop at, the Falkland Island Company does not allow it. Nor will they be able to secure "better" jobs with the company, since you have to be second generation British to do that, and the same goes for those "kelpers" who might harbor the silly dreams of spending the last years of their lives in Scotland — according to the recent Nationalities Act. So where is this much sought after honor and freedom that these professional killers are to restore to the islands?

(Another interesting aside is that although Britain claims to be waging this war because, as in the words of former Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, "The invasion of the Falkland (sic) Islands has been a humiliating affront to this country," the government had until April 2, lost almost all interest in the island's inhabitants. In 1972, Great Britain signed an accord with Argentina, handing over to that country all of the responsibilities of building roads and airstrips, providing medical care, organizing a postal system, equipping the island with teachers, and delivering all of the island's heating fuel. They also suggested paying the "kelpers" \$14,000 to relocate — but not in the U.K.)\*

But the point here is to show that this most recent crisis on Seal Island is not an isolated case which is separated from the history of the rest of the world. Its history goes beyond its borders and the language of its inhabitants. It is a history that is directly related to those of Europe, North America, South America and Asia and which is, for the time being, a history that will continue along the same lines no matter who "wins" the war.

The point here is to show that in many ways, the relatively short and totalitarian history of Argentina parallels that of every nation state. Are the murderous actions of the junta that much different from Great Britain's systematic elimination of the Celts in Scotland and their continuous war of occupation that is, at this very moment, being carried out on the Celtic descendants in Ireland? Not to mention the hundreds of other places around the globe that the Empire has conquered and destroyed? Is it any different from any of the states that are interested in Seal Island? Any different from the mass murders that have been brought upon the peoples of the Soviet Union and the many nations it controls? Murders committed under the "dictatorship of the proletariat," in the name of the "worker's state"?

And is it really that much different from the slavery of Africans and the wars against the Indians that were carried out in this country, along with all the murderous activities — in the name of "freedom" — of the U.S. government in Vietnam, El Salvador, Guatemala, Brazil, Iran, Chile and on and on and on? In short, do the absolutely inhuman activities of the Argentine junta diverge that radically from the histories, both past and present, of the so-

Let me say it in clear terms: planning is *impossible* anywhere but at the most localized level and can only take place in a democratic fashion when shared by people who enjoy face-to-face relationships. A computerized, planned world will be a dreadful nightmare, but, again, it is one that capital already has well in the works. We must stand in opposition to this process, not be its cheerleaders. We must opt for a non-administered world, one which returns to a balance and harmony found in the old ways. And it's not simply because this is more in harmony with our values, but that the schemes of the planners will never work. The chaos will continue and the demand for order will follow. *Then* the modern world's capacity for both war and totalitarianism will be realized.

One other quick note: It seems to amaze our critics that we contend that "there is no such thing as a labor-saving device" — a statement which originated not with us, but which was uttered by 19th Century philosopher John Locke. It seems to take only a little effort to think through what this means: you can obviously do more sewing with an electrical or even treadle-powered sewing machine than by hand, but the total amount of societal labor which goes into the production of the machines, their storage, transportation, marketing, repair, etc., and the amount of things that are then sewn both voluntarily and as wage work raise the overall amount of time spent in the activity to an *immense* leap over what was expended prior to the machine's production. Ivan Illich makes the point well in his *Tools for Conviviality* that once a society decides it wants to travel faster than 15mph, more and more time is spent in actual travel and in the production of vehicles for doing so. The mass introduction of so-called labor-saving devices has meant that no people other than "expendable" slaves have spent so much time at daily work. To contend otherwise is to ignore history and to apologize for wage labor.



# AN STRUGGLE FOR C

The debacle of the air controllers' strike and the growing difficulties unions are having in attracting new members (or holding old ones—decertification elections have increased for the past 10 straight years<sup>1</sup>) are two phenomena which could be used to depict Americans as quite tamed overall, or adjusted to their lot.

But such a picture of conservative stasis would be quite unfaithful to the reality of the work culture, which is now so *un-tamed* as to be evoking unprecedented attention and countermeasures.

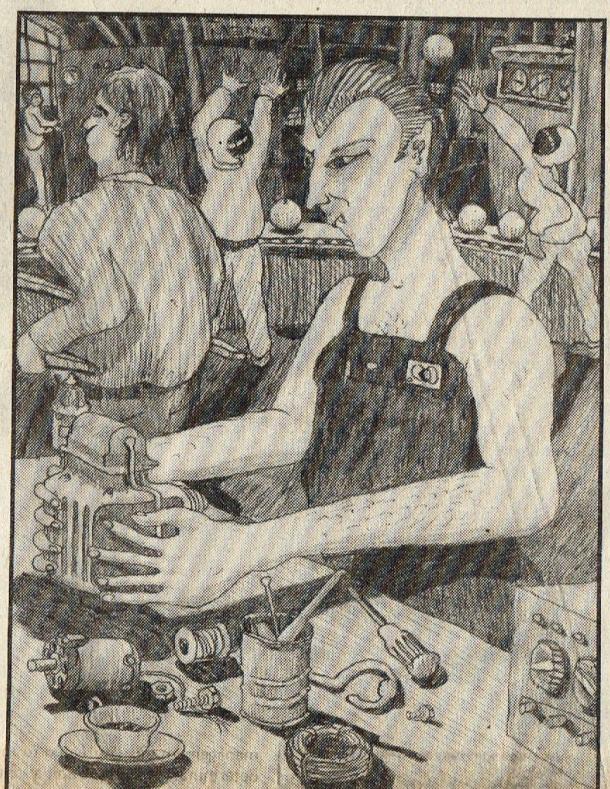
Before tackling the subject of "anti-work," a few words on the status of business might be in order. Bradshaw and Vogel's *Corporations and Their Critics* sees enterprise today as "faced by uncertainty and hostility on every hand." In fact, this fairly typical book finds that "latent mistrust has grown to the point at which lack of confidence in business's motives has become the overwhelming popular response to the role of the large corporation in the United States."<sup>2</sup> An early '81 survey of 24,000 prominent students, as determined by *Who's Who Among American High School Students*, showed a strong anti-business sentiment; less than 20% of the 24,000 agreed, for example, with the proposition that most companies charge fair prices.<sup>3</sup>

Not surprising then are Peter Berger's conclusions about current attitudes. His "New Attack on the Legitimacy of Business" is summed up, in part, thusly: "When people genuinely believe in the 'rightness' of certain social arrangements, those arrangements are experienced as proper and worthy of support—that is as legitimate... American business once enjoyed this kind of implicit social charter. It does not today."<sup>4</sup>

#### Evidence of Aversion to Work

Within business, one begins to see the spread of work refusal. *Nation's Business* strikes what has become a familiar chord, in its introduction to Dr. H.J. Freudenberger's "How to Survive Burn-out": "For many business people, life has lost its meaning. Work has become mere drudgery, off-hours are spent in a miasma of dullness."<sup>5</sup> Similar is *Datamation's* "Burnout: Victims and Avoidance," because this disabling trauma "seems to be running rampant" among data process-

"Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control" continues John Zerzan's work demonstrating the massive erosion of traditional American values, in this case, centering on work. It is a rebuttal from Tim Luke, which appeared in *Telos* magazine No. 50 (Box 3111, St. Louis MO 63130, \$5); this is followed by a reply from Zerzan and a commen



"seems to be running rampant" among data processors.<sup>6</sup> Veninga and Spradley's *The Work Stress Connection: How to Cope with Job Burnout*,<sup>7</sup> was condensed by the December 1981 Readers' Digest.

To continue in this bibliographic vein, it is worth noting the sharp increase in scholarly articles like Kahn's "Work, Stress, and Individual Well-Being,"<sup>8</sup> Abdel-Halim's "Effects of Role Stress—Job Design—Technology Interaction on Employee Stress,"<sup>9</sup> *Studies in Occupational Stress*, a series initiated in 1978 by Cooper and Kasl, dates the formal study of this facet of organized misery.

There is other related evidence of aversion to work, including this reaction in its literal sense, namely a growth of illnesses such as job-related allergies and at least a significant part of the advancing industrial accident rate since the early '60's. Comes to mind the machinist who becomes ill by contact with machine oil, the countless employees who seem to be accident-prone in the job setting. We are just beginning to see some awareness of this sort of phenomenon, the consequences of which may be very significant.

And of course, there is absenteeism, probably the most common sign of antipathy to work and a topic which has called forth a huge amount of recent attention from the specialists of wage-labor. Any number of remedies are hawked: Frank Kuzmits' offering, "No Fault: A New Strategy for Absenteeism,"<sup>10</sup> for example. Deitsch and Dilts' "Getting Absent Workers Back on the Job: The Case of General Motors,"<sup>11</sup> puts the cost to GM at \$1 billion plus, and observes that "Absenteeism is of increasing concern to management and organized labor alike."<sup>10</sup>

There are other well-known elements of the anti-work syndrome. The inability of some firms to get a shift working on time is a serious problem; it is why Nucor Corporation offers a 4% pay hike for each ton of steel produced above a target figure, up to a 100% pay bonus for those who show up as scheduled and work the whole shift. The amount of drinking and drug-taking on the job is another form of protest, occasioning a great proliferation of employee alcoholism and drug abuse programs by every sort of company.<sup>11</sup> Tersine and Russell confront the "staggering" employee theft phenomenon, observing that it has become "more widespread and professional in recent years."<sup>12</sup> Turnover (considered as a function of the quit rate and not due to lay-offs, of course), very high since the early '70's, has inched up further.<sup>13</sup>

All of these aspects come together to produce the much publicized productivity, or output per hour worked, crisis. Social scientists Blake and Moulton provide some useful points; they recognize, for example, that the "declining productivity rate and the erosion of quality in industry have caused grave concern in this country" and that "industry is pouring more money than ever before into training and development," while "the productivity rate continues to fall." Further, "attitudes among workers themselves" including, most basically, an "erosion of obedience to authority," are seen as at the root of the problem. Unlike many confused mainstream analyses of the situation—or the typical leftist denial of it as either a media chimera or an invention of the always powerful corporations—our two professors can at least realize that "Basic to the decline in productivity is the breakdown of the authority-obedience means of control"; this trend, moreover, "which is one manifestation of a broader social disorder . . . will contin-

## "Menget Serves Hamburgers"

use indefinitely without corrective action," they aver.<sup>14</sup>

Librarian R. S. Byrne gives a useful testimonial to the subject in her compendious "Sources on Productivity," which lists some of the huge outpouring of articles, reports, books, newsletters, etc., from a variety of willing helpers of business, including those of the Work in America Institute, the American Productivity Center, the American Center for the Quality of Work life, and the Project on Technology, Work and Character, to name a few. As Ms. Byrne notes, "One can scarcely pick up any publication without being barraged by articles on the topic written from every possible perspective." The reason for the outpouring is of course available to her: "U.S. productivity growth has declined continuously in the past 15 years, and the trend appears to be worsening."<sup>15</sup>

The August 1981 *Personnel Administrator*, devoted entirely to the topic, declares that "Today poor productivity is the United States' number one industrial problem."<sup>16</sup> *Administrative Management* reasons, in George Crosby's "Getting Back to Basics on Productivity," that no progress can occur "until all individuals begin viewing productivity as their own personal responsibility."<sup>17</sup> "How Deadly Is the Productivity Disease?" mulls Stanley Henrici recently in the *Harvard Business Review*.<sup>18</sup> An endless stream, virtually an obsession.

Dissatisfaction with work and the consequences of this have even drawn the Pope's attention. John Paul II, in his *Laborem Exerens (through work)* encyclical of September '81, examines the idea of work and the tasks of modern management. On a more prosaic level, one discovers that growing employee alienation has forced a search for new forms of work organization.<sup>19</sup> The December '81 *Nation's Business*, in fact, has located a new consensus in favor of "more worker involvement in decision-making."<sup>20</sup> James O'Toole's *Making America Work*,<sup>21</sup> emphasizes the changed work culture with its low motivation, and prescribes giving workers the freedom to design their own jobs, set their own work schedules and decide their own salaries.

### The Inauguration of Worker Participation

The Productivity crisis has clearly led to the inauguration of worker participation, in a burgeoning number of co-determination arrangements since the mid-seventies. The May 11, 1981 *Business Week* announced the arrival of a new day in U.S. management with its cover story/special report, "The New Industrial Relations." Proclaiming the "almost unnoticed" ascendancy of a "fundamentally different way of managing people," the article noted that the "authoritarian" approach of the "old, crude workplace ethos" is definitely passing, aided "immeasurably" by the growing collaboration of the trade unions. "With the adversarial approach outmoded, the trend is toward more worker involvement in decisions on the shop floor—and more job satisfaction, tied to productivity."<sup>22</sup>

Shortly after this analysis, *Business Week's* "A Try at Steel-Mill Harmony," recounted the labor-management efforts being made between the U.S. steel industry and the United Steelworkers "to create a cooperative labor climate where it matters most: between

workers and bosses on the mill floor." The arrangements, which are essentially production teams made up of supervisors, local union officials, and workers, were provided for in 1980 contracts with the nine major steel companies, but not implemented until after early 1981 union elections because of the unpopularity of the idea among many steelworkers. "The participation-team concept . . . was devised as a means of improving steel's sluggish productivity growth rate,"<sup>23</sup> the obvious reason for a climate of disfavor in the mills.

In a series of *Fortune* articles appearing in June, July and August 1981, the new system of industrial organization is discussed in some depth. "Shocked by faltering productivity," according to *Fortune*, America's corporate managers have moved almost overnight toward the worker involvement approach (after long ignoring the considerable northern European experience), which "challenges a system of authority and accountability that has served through most of history."<sup>24</sup> With a rising hopefulness, big capital's leading magazine announces that "Companies which have had time to weigh the consequences of participative management are finding that it informs

marriage of convenience" with business.<sup>30</sup> *Fortune* sees in formal collaboration "interesting possibilities for reversing the decline" in organized labor.<sup>31</sup>

*Business Week's* "Quality of Work Life: Catching On," observes that shop-floor worker participation and the rest of the "OWL" movement is "taking root in everyday life."<sup>32</sup> Along the same lines, the October 1981 issue of *Productivity* notes that half of 500 firms surveyed now have such involvement programs.<sup>33</sup>

William Ouchi's 1981 contribution to the industrial relations literature, *Theory Z*, cites recent research, such as that of Harvard's James Medoff and M.I.T.'s Kathryn Abraham, to point out the productivity edge that unionized companies in the U.S. have over non-union ones.<sup>34</sup> And David Lewin's "Collective Bargaining and the Quality of Work Life" argues for a further union presence in the QWL movement, based on organized labor's past ability to recognize the constraints of work and support the ultimate authority of the workplace.<sup>35</sup>

It is clear that unions hold the high ground in a growing number of these programs, and there seems to be a trend toward co-management at ever-higher levels. Douglas Fraser, UAW president sits on the Board

## The work culture is now so un-tamed as to be evoking unprecedented attention and countermeasures.

the entire corporate culture." Employees "are no longer just workers: they become the lowest level of management,"<sup>25</sup> it exults, echoing such recent books as Myers' *Every Employee a Manager*.<sup>26</sup>

The bottom line of such programs, which also go by the name "Quality of Work Life," is never lost sight of. G.T. Strippoli, a plant manager of the TRW Corporation, provides the guiding principle: "the workers know that if I feel there's no payback to the company in the solution they arrive at, there will be a definite no. I'm not here to give away the store or run a country club."<sup>27</sup>

In effect in about 100 auto manufacturing and assembly plants, the co-management method replaces the traditional, failed ways of pushing productivity. Auto, with virtually nothing to lose, has jumped for the effort to get workers to help run the factories. "As far as I'm concerned, it's the only way to operate the business—there isn't another way in today's world," says GM President F. James McDonald.<sup>28</sup> United Auto Workers committeemen and stewards are key co-leaders with management in the drive to "gain higher product quality and lower absenteeism."<sup>29</sup> Similar is the campaign for worker involvement in the AT&T empire, formalized in the 1980 contract with the Communication Workers of America.

The fight to bolster output per hour is as much the unions' as it is management's; anti-work feelings are equally responsible for the decline of the bodyguards of capital as they are for the productivity crisis proper. AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer T. R. Donahue has found in the general productivity impasse the message that the time has come for a "limited partnership—a

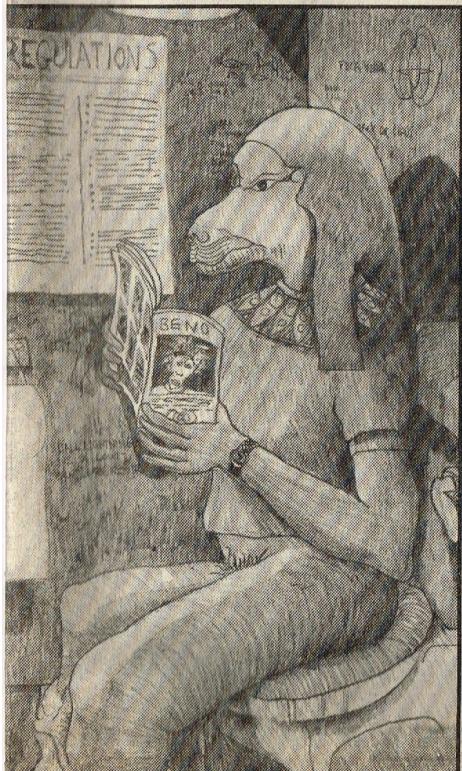
of Directors at Chrysler—a situation likely to spread to the rest of auto—and the Teamsters appear close to putting their representative on the board of Pan-Am Airways. Joint labor-management efforts to boost productivity in construction have produced about a dozen important local collaborative set-ups involving the building trades unions, like Columbus's MOST (Management and Organized Labor Striving Together), Denver's Union Jack, and PEP (Planning Economic Progress) in Beaumont, Texas. *Business Horizons* editorialized in 1981 about "the newly established Industrial Board with such luminaries as Larry Shaprin of DuPont and Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO" as a "mild portent" of the growing formal collaboration.<sup>36</sup> The Board, a reincarnation of the Labor Management Board that expired in 1978, is chaired by Kirkland and chairman of Exxon, Clifton C. Garvin, Jr.

The defeat in 1979 of the Labor Law Reform Act, which would have greatly increased government support to unionization, was seen by many as almost catastrophic given Labor's organizing failures. But the economic crisis, perhaps especially in light of generous union concessions to the auto, airlines, rubber, trucking and other industries, may provide the setting for a "revitalization" of the national order including a real institutionalizing of Labor's social potential to contain the mounting anti-work challenge.<sup>37</sup>

There is already much pointing to such a possibility, beyond even the huge participation/QWL movement with its vital union component. The 1978 Trilateral Commission on comparative industrial relations spoke in very glowing terms about the development of neo-corporatist institutions (with German "co-determina-

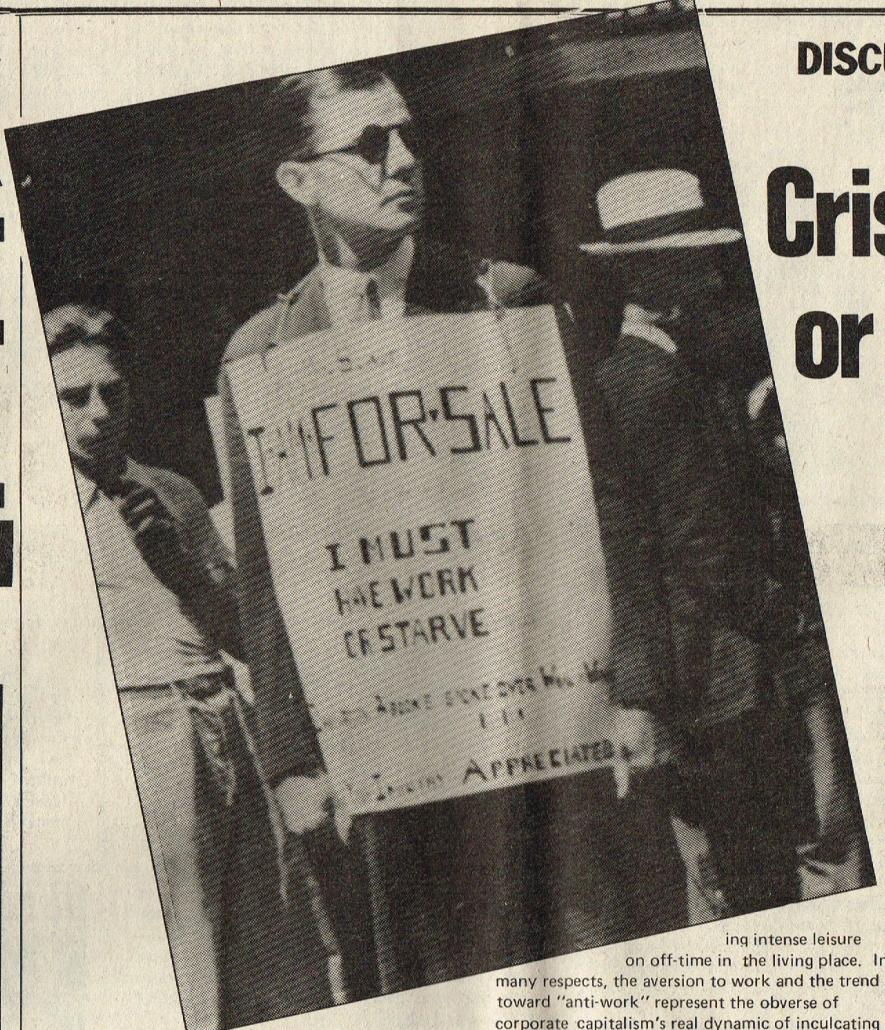
# ANTI-WORK AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL

Popular allegiance to the work ethic. Following  
from Bob Brubaker from the FE staff.



## ANTI-WORK?

In "Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control," John Zerzan argues that America's over-exploited working classes once again are verging on total revolt. Although many points in his arguments are difficult to firmly pin down, Zerzan apparently holds that the recent increases in a whole range of work avoidance activities are the preliminary signs of a general crisis looming just over the horizon as the Reagan revolution slowly unfolds its program for the American economy. The broad-gauged systematic challenge of "work refusal," in its many subtle forms across the spectrum from absenteeism to on-the-job drug abuse, now poses such a basic threat to corporate capital that big business and top management have retreated to the last bastions of co-determination, co-optation and, ultimately, corporatism in order to merely survive the coming crisis.



ing intense leisure on off-time in the living place. In many respects, the aversion to work and the trend toward "anti-work" represent the obverse of corporate capitalism's real dynamic of inculcating a passion for play and a movement towards "pro-leisure."

The systemic development of "anti-work" attitudes and activities, then, closely parallels the systematic emergence of "pro-leisure" values and practices throughout the economy, at least since the end of World War II, if not before. Corporate capital has invested leisure with immense importance in order to integrate the workers into the affluent society, by training them to "work" hard "at play." Private time, personal pursuits, leisure time are culturally redefined constantly as self-actualizing moments to be aggressively sought after and wantonly spent upon. The personal car, the private home, the individual electronics system, the single-family accessories of backyard fun are all "worked for" and "worked on" as new forms of play. Zerzan mistakes the latest outbreaks of anti-work activities as the rebellion of a militant and skilled working class chafing to expropriate the capitalists. In fact, since corporate capital has so comfortably transformed

## DISCUSSION ON ANTI-WORK

# Crisis of capital or its success?

## NEGATIVITY & REALITY

The following is a response to the foregoing by John Zerzan, author of "Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control."

In Tim Luke's effort to demonstrate his fealty to Telos editor Paul Piccone's "artificial negativity" thesis (more on this below), he has produced really no reply at all to my essay.

Inexplicably, he uses almost a third of his response to point out two developments, which, if barely relevant, are completely and tediously well-known: namely, that a systematic de-skilling of work has been going on a long time (over twice as long as he seems to be aware of) and that the work ethic has been replaced by a culture of consumption (miraculously discovered by bourgeois sociologists about 30 years ago).

Having thus maligned our intelligence, he proceeds to raise questions about his own. He claims I see in work refusal a "working class chafing to expropriate the capitalists." Of course, there is no proletarian self-consciousness of any kind hinted at in my article, which simply depicts the progressive evacuation of the work role and the counter-measures this is now engendering.

It gets worse as we arrive at the main point Luke makes. Here he reveals that whether workers continue to work is quite unimportant, so long as they uninterruptedly consume, which constitutes "the proper, correct form of psychosocial behavior required by advanced corporate capital to maintain its control over

—from "Gods at Work" by Stephen Goodfellow

tion" by unions and management as its model.<sup>38</sup>

*Business Week* of June 30, 1980, a special issue devoted to "The Reindustrialization of America," proclaimed "nothing short of a new social contract" between business, labor and government, and "sweeping changes in basic institutions" could stem the country's industrial decline.<sup>39</sup> Thus when the AFL-CIO's Kirkland called in late '81 for a tripartite National Reindustrialization Board, a concept first specifically advanced by investment banker Felix Rohatyn, the recent theoretical precedents are well in place. One of the main underlying arguments by Rohatyn and others is that labor will need the state to help enforce its productivity programs in its partnership with management.

#### Renewed Social Control Minus Spending Outlays

Thus would spreading "worker involvement" be utilized, but shepherded by the most powerful of political arrangements. Wilber and Jameson's "Hedonism and Quietism," puts the matter in general yet historical terms: "Ways must be found to revitalize mediating institutions from the bottom up. A good example is Germany's efforts to bring workers into a direct role in decision-making."<sup>40</sup>

A change of this sort might appear to be too directly counter to the ideology of the Reagan government, but it would actually be quite in line with the goal of renewed social control minus spending outlays. Washington, after all, has been trying to reduce its instrumentalities because this giant network of programs is past its ability to coherently manage, just as its cutbacks also reflect the practical failure of government social pacification programs.

Meanwhile, the refusal of work grows. One final example is the extremely high teenage unemployment rate, which continues to climb among all groups and is the object of a growing awareness that a very big element is simply a rejection of work, especially low-skill work, by the young.<sup>41</sup> And legion are the reports that describe the habits of teenagers who do work as characterized by habitual tardiness, chronic absenteeism, disrespect for supervisors and customers, etc., which recalls the larger picture drawn by Frederick Herzberg in his "New Perspectives on the Will to Work: 'the problem is work motivation—all over the world, it's simply a matter of people not wanting to work.'"<sup>42</sup>

The gravity of the anti-work situation seems now to be approaching an unprecedented structural counter-revolution. Tripartite dates back to World War I, to Coolidge in peacetime, but the addition of a mass-participation schema is just beginning to emerge as a national hypothesis. Of course, this nascent reaction intersects with a political tide of non-participation (e.g. declining voter turnout, massive non-registration for the draft rolls, growing tax evasion). The larger culture of withdrawal, from the state as from work, will make this integration effort highly problematic, and may even produce a more effective exposure of capital's organization of life given that organization's heightened dependency on its victims' active participation.

—John Zerzan

Footnotes on Page 10

determination, co-optation and, ultimately, corporatism in order to merely survive the coming crisis. Thus, Zerzan issues a warning to this resurgent proletarian force.

While these new industrial programs for "job enrichment" and "worker involvement" might be construed as some positive sign of capital's final capitulation to labor in preparation for building an equal partnership in the corporate administration of the means of production, in fact these new psychosocial schemes merely are the latest subterfuge for elaborating scientific management and complete administrative control in the workplace.

#### Successes of Capitalist Integration

Yet, the growing trend toward work refusal by the working classes in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries cannot be reduced so simply into the latest phase of the classic struggle over control in the factories. Admittedly, the workers are in danger of losing more dignity and freedom on the job. Still, the "quality of work life" movement, and its guiding force of "Japanophilia," has been inspired by more than the bourgeoisie's eternal need to repress the proletariat. As Zerzan notes, these steadily increasing levels of absenteeism, alcohol abuse, disability scams, drug abuse, job-related accidents and worker sabotage do present a systemic threat to management as it seeks to maintain a stable, trained and dedicated workforce in its offices and factories. The aversion to work, however, does not stem so much from the failures of capitalism and the discontent of the workers so much as it flows from the successes of capitalist integration and the privatistic withdrawal of the workers to take fullest advantage of their integration.

Nearly three generations ago, the more progressive fraction of top management made a series of basic marketing and administrative decisions about workers and consumers. More control, greater profit and more stable returns, it was decided, could accrue from de-skilling the workers and technologically intensifying the material means of production instead of protecting proletarian skills and insulating the technical process of production from scientific advancements. Industrial tasks purposely were devalued and degraded to realize new economies of efficient scale. Rather than continuing their status as technical polymaths, the workers were reduced systematically to "trained gorillas," as Gramsci maintained, whose time as semi-skilled machine tenders was rented out to big business.

At the same juncture, to partially compensate for these lost skills and the intrinsic satisfaction that derived from their exercise, another series of marketing decisions funneled a major part of this tremendously increased industrial capacity into the production and circulation of new consumer goods and services, or an unprecedented array of standardized things and experiences, that the worker as consumer might acquire with the fatter pay packet he earned from renting out his productive time and energy to the producers of things and the providers of experiences. As such a consumeristic rentier, the objective position of the proletarian within the means of production, shifted from the primacy of production to the primacy of consumption. Instead of being most productive through undaunting hard work on company time in the workplace, the technologically intensified means of production now basically transformed the worker as a productive force into the consumer as productive force, who becomes most productive through unend-

ing playtime. In fact, since corporate capital has so comfortably transformed "play" into "work," it now can seek final closure by artfully transfiguring even those final hours of worktime in the factory and office into activity forms that more closely resemble playtime and leisure. The new waves of industrial sociologists and managerial psychologists that are now pitching out plans for "job excitement," "job enhancement," and "job enrichment" see this underlying need to transform work into something more like play. Hence, the advent of exercise programs on company time, the elimination of routine tasks, the introduction of variety, diversity and mystery in job assignments, the formation of structured bull sessions and gossip circles to improve "productivity," or the creation of innumerable new little submanagerial niches on the line or in the office so that everyone can pretend he is boss or play assistant vice-president.

The civic privatism that Zerzan now concludes will bring the system into its final crisis is instead the proper, correct form of psychosocial behavior required by advanced corporate capital to maintain its control over the worker, who now is only a producer as a consumer. The worker as producer can be replaced by a robotic-cybernetic servomechanism. Thus, only a consumer, who is properly socialized to spend his *rentier* income on the unending flow of technologically generated things and experiences, does the worker have a function and importance in corporate capital's designs.

The larger culture of withdrawal, as Zerzan complains, is simply the social form of "pro-leisure" that remains once everyone has been mobilized by prime-time TV ads to rush out to the closest shopping mall to hunt for and gather the correct things that they can then fully experience and enjoy in the privacy of their homes, unbothered by political issues, unions meetings, religious obligations, neighborhood community, family ties, or the hassles at work. Workers are absent from work to stay at home to play "Space Invaders" or are tardy because they have to watch all of "Hour Magazine" to start the day, or are doped up on the job because working is not as much fun as lying around the pool at home, or are disabled on the job because they are daydreaming about cruising around on their dirt bikes—not because they are gathering their energies for the final confrontation with capital.

Indeed, as the pollsters and evening news broadcasters continually report, many if not most workers believe that the only way they will improve their lives is through the government granting fee license, tax breaks and new capital to the corporations that rent their time in factories and offices. Of course, the workers loathe their corporate tenants who rent their hours and the corporations themselves moan about the utility of the units they rent. Nonetheless, what might, at first glance, appear to be indicators of social unrest are in fact, solid signs of social integration and civic passivity. The next time that Zerzan climbs behind the wheel of social theory to take it on a spin through contemporary social trends, let us hope that he drives along looking through the windshield at events of the 1980s that are going on ahead of him, rather than staring into the rearview mirror of working class politics in the 1880s.

—Tim Luke

correct form of psychosocial behavior required by advanced corporate capital to maintain its control over the worker. If they don't work, they can be replaced by robots; what matters is an absorption with spending.

Leaving aside such questions as who and at what cost will provide and refine the required raw materials, assemble, service the robots, etc., let us take a look at this insight which has it that work refusal is actually proof that the central activity, consuming, is dominating society so well.

Actually, this view is the quintessence of leftists' unhappiness with an advancing depoliticalization (e.g. Luke's denunciation of those who have no interest in his "political issues, union meetings, religious obligations . . ."). Leftists like him, grandly exhibiting that "will to a system" pointed out by Nietzsche, do not comprehend the movement which is eroding the dominant values of the capital relationship. Threatened by the real negative, in fact, they shrilly attack the general withdrawal from the system.

Christopher Lasch is another exemplar of this reaction, whose sour and conservative *Culture of Narcissism* equates, in Freudian terms, "narcissism" with consumerism, with passivity. He does, however, sometimes unwittingly reveal something of what is going on with people today: "Outwardly bland, submissive and sociable, they seethe with an inner anger for which a dense, overpopulated, bureaucratic society can devise few legitimate outlets," for example.

Even granting the irrelevance of the status of wage-labor, do we really witness such a pervasively efficient consumerism? In fact, the corrosion besetting the one is clearly also engaging the other, in such forms as the hugely mounting levels of arson, vandalism, and participation in looting situations, not to mention booming rates of shoplifting, employee theft, and tax avoidance. Violation of the commodity, as much as the refusal of the rules of wage-labor, is manifestly the trend.

Finally, I would add that Luke serves the concept of "artificial negativity" faithfully, but very uncritical. Piccone—albeit because of a withdrawal he devalues—sees the need of the system to provide opposition to itself in order that it may advance in a regulated, intelligent manner. This becomes a necessity in the absence of organized negativity from below. The blind spot here of course is that there does abundantly exist a negation, precisely in the form of a withdrawal from the reform of domination. So, it is true that the order may indeed be in need of artificial negativity and also the case that a seemingly unrecuperable negativity of no use-value to the wage-labor and commodity world is the predominant social fact.

## ANTI-LUKE

Tim Luke tries very hard to sustain his pessimism in the face of massive evidence to the contrary, and considering the ability of words to obfuscate and distort reality, succeeds quite well. His response to Zerzan does not, however, tell us much about the questions raised by Zerzan's article.

What it does tell us about is Luke's misconceptions and prejudices, which are legion. Let's begin with the most concrete of these, then proceed toward a consideration of his theoretical premises.

Continued on Page 10

# bits of the world in brief



The following letter, at the top of which appeared the heading "Direct Action," recently arrived at the FE office. Its view of the ecological crisis and the essential sameness of the capitalist West and the communist East is one with which we are in substantial agreement. And this anonymous attack on property strikes us as acceptable — unlike attacks on people, which, barring self-defense or extraordinary circumstances, we find repugnant — and often a useful means of struggle. However, we have some doubts about what seems to be their assessment of their own role in the struggle against capital (though the problem might be one of unclear writing). Like many others, they apparently feel compelled to formulate a strategy based on their understanding of historical processes in which they make themselves mere instrumentalities of these processes, rather than proceeding from their own desires and experiences. In this case, the authors of the letter see themselves as making it difficult for capitalists to expand their domestic development of energy and resources in the context of world-wide economic crises and the successes of allegedly destabilizing third world movements; presumably, their intention is to heighten the economic crisis by opposing further encroachments by multinational corporations. This formulation resembles the instrumentalism of '60's anti-imperialist students in the U.S. who sought to assist third world struggles by creating resistance in the imperialist centers, a limited and self-sacrificing vision containing the seeds of authoritarianism.

But apart from these criticisms, the thrust of the letter was anti-authoritarian, anti-technology, and pro-wilderness, and whatever the motives of the bombers, we could not help but be heartened by their action. A desperate situation often calls for a desperate response.

On May 31, we bombed four 500 k.v. transformers at the Dunsmuir substation on Vancouver Island. This substation is part of the \$1 billion Cheekye-Dunsmuir transmission line project being built by B.C. Hydro. This project, if completed, will provide electricity for a wave of industrial development planned for Vancouver Island. We are opposed to any further industrial development and to any expansion of the power grid which will facilitate such development.

tification for the horrible damage being done.

Already in this province, half of the forests have been logged and many rivers dammed. The valleys are littered with highways and power lines, the estuaries are paved and polluted, the water is poisoned, mills and smelters belch noxious fumes, and nuclear power and acid rain are soon to come.

While being in complete opposition to further ecological destruction, we also oppose the human oppression resulting from the economic and political systems throughout the world that are based on power and profit. In fact, ecological destruction is directly related to the human oppressions of sexism, racism, hierarchy and imperialism. The desire for power, the insensitivity to the suffering of others and the need to feel superior are the sinister bonds that underlie all these oppressive human relations.

Centuries of patriarchy and imperialism have created oppressive power relations that now permeate most societies and their institutions. As a result, people today have internalized these characteristics; however, this does not negate the ultimate responsibility of the ruling classes that control and direct these institutions.

The same ruling classes and multinational corporations who relentlessly destroy the environment, also control the repressive dictatorships and governments of democratic facade throughout the capitalist world. The repression and economic exploitation that result are an inevitable consequence of societies that function in order to fulfill the profit and growth demands of a corporate economy.



Within the capitalist world, a growing number of liberation movements have created a situation in which the industrialized societies can no longer depend for their supply of strategic materials on these potentially "unstable" regions of the so-called third world.

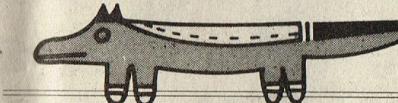
development of energy and resource mega-projects in Canada has become a government priority. As well as serving a strategic function within the international economy, the Canadian capitalists see these mega-projects as a means of overcoming the ongoing economic crisis nationally.

We must make this an insecure and uninhabitable place for capitalists and their projects. This is the best contribution we can make towards protecting the earth and struggling for a liberated society.

*The following is from Bulletin No. 18 of the "Emergency Response International Network," c/o Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.*

**URGENT CALL FROM BRAZIL** — Gessellschaft fur Bedrohte Volker (Association for Endangered Peoples), Frankfurt, Germany recently began an international campaign in support of the 600 to 1,000 Waimiri and Atroari Indians of Brazil.

The Waimiri-Atroari are Carib-speaking Indians who inhabit the forests of the northern Amazon region of Brazil. Since the end of the 19th century, the Waimiri-Atroari have suffered periodic massacres and invasions of their lands. When Brazil launched the Amazon development program in the late 1960's, the government declared that the Indians could not stand in the way of "progress." As a result, dozens of Indian tribes were reduced in population because of the high-



ways, military assaults and massacres, epidemic diseases, and invasions by cattle ranchers. FUNAI (Brazil's equivalent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) failed to protect the Indians and to demarcate any of their lands.

The lands of the Waimiri-Atroari were in the path of the Manaus-Boa Vista Highway. When construction began on this highway in the early '70s, the Brazilian Army tried to drive the Indians southward out of the way of the road. Numerous eyewitness accounts verify that the Brazilian Army conducted machine-gun massacres and bombings of the Waimiri-Atroari. As a result, the Indian population declined from 3,000 to 600 between 1968 and 1975.

The highway has been completed and now the Indians are faced with new threats. Mineral companies are seeking authorizations for mining on Indian lands and a large hydro-electric project may flood the Indian reserve. The government has refused to reveal any information on either of these projects.

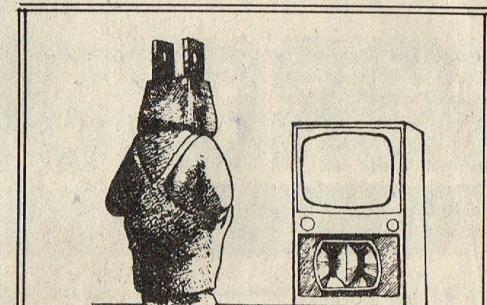
These actions have now pushed the Waimiri-Atroari Indians into a highly critical situation. Not only is their survival as a group with their own way of life and own culture now in jeopardy, but their very survival as such may, after 300 years of struggle, become virtually impossible.

It is therefore most important and urgent to oppose the Brazilian government's policy of systematic extermination, which right now is once again willing to sacrifice two more Indian nations (see ERIN Bulletins 2, 3, 12, and 16 for information on the creation of the Yanomami Indian Park) to the altar of supposed economic advantages. This opposition can best be mounted through a program of wide and firm public pro-

Exmo. Sr. Coronel Paulo Moreira Leal  
Presidente da FUNAI  
SAS Q — 1 Bloco A, 7 andar  
Brasilia, D.F. 70054  
Brasil

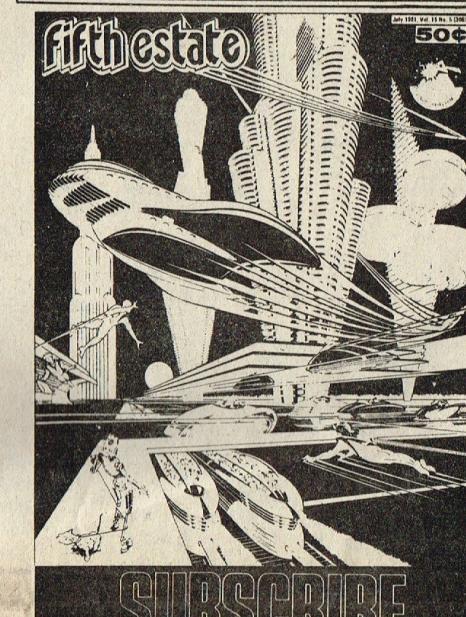
The Brazilian embassy of your own country

It would be of great help if you could send a copy of your letters to:  
CIMI  
c/o Paulo Suess  
caixa postal 984  
69000 Manaus/AM  
Brasil



"General Dozier ended his public appearance by surprising his wife with the Christmas present that he had bought but could not deliver. It was a necklace with a shield of NATO's Southern Europe Command as a pendant, and the presentation ended in an emotional embrace that did not lose its evident depth of tenderness even when it had to be repeated several times for the television and still cameras."

—New York Times, January 30, 1982



We reject both the ecological destruction and the human oppression inherent in the industrial societies of the corporate machine in the West and the communist machine in the East. In the last two hundred years industrial civilization has been raping and mutilating the earth and exterminating other species at an ever accelerating rate. We say that this is not right. Jobs, progress, standards of living—nothing is sufficient just

## ANTI-LUKE

Continued from Page 9

First, Luke imagines that Zerzan has reduced the work refusal syndrome to "the latest phase of the classic struggle over control in the factories." How he comes up with this notion is anybody's guess, since Zerzan never speaks of or alludes to current workplace struggles as directed toward classical labor goals. He refers only to the growing instances of work refusal, to the perceived threat to capitalist control and productivity posed by these acts, and to the beginnings of an organized response by capitalist management to the problem.

Second, Luke erringly focuses entirely on questions of integration and ideology, and this in a completely one-sided way. Presuming that workers are completely integrated into the system as consumers, he banishes as pseudo-problems any consideration of worker unrest. He thinks it crucial that workers hate work not out of loyalty to socialist ideals (or "the political issues, union meetings, religious obligations, neighborhood community, family ties, and hassles at work" that presumably occupy the labor militant's time), but because work interferes with the pleasures of consumption. Never mind if management appears disturbed at the widespread unrest in its workplaces; the battle has already been won, the ideology of consumption has triumphed, and, in any case, at the wave of a magic wand workers can be replaced by "robotic, cybernetic servomechanisms," which, as we all know, never take coffee breaks, go on strike, or talk back to their supervisors. Luke even imagines that management is flirting with workplace innovation because of its theoretical acuity, recognizing the desirability of effecting a "closure" of the system which, having transformed play into work, is now transforming work into something resembling play.

Such prosaic management concerns as productivity, regular attendance, company loyalty, work quality, etc. are missing in Luke's account, despite Zerzan's evidence indicating that precisely these concerns currently obsess corporate capital. Luke writes as if capitalist integration was an accomplished fact rather than a continuous battle, and as if that integration was unconnected to capital's efforts to extort more productivity from and secure the loyalty of its subjects. Managerial complaints about labor costs and reliability must seem an annoying intrusion into Luke's perfected capitalist universe, where the sun never sets on the smoothly functioning capitalist empire. This is not to deny the prescience of Luke's descriptions, which loom as possibilities at the horizon of the system. However, these theoretical anticipations only obfuscate the crucial struggles of which work refusal is a part, and which could eventuate either in a complete collapse of capitalist legitimacy or in a perfected domination.

industrialized societies are attempting to become less energy dependent on these regions by exploiting coal, oil, gas and nuclear energy and resources from regions that meet international security objectives. Canada, at this time, meets these objectives.

Canada's historical role has always been that of supplier of cheap resources to the industrialized world. As this role becomes more critical internationally, the

Third, Luke, not Zerzan, evinces a nostalgia for the working class politics of the nineteenth century. His extreme pessimism is fueled by a time-worn fidelity to the concept of proletarian revolution. While his revolutionary agent has long since expired, at least in the classical sense mourned by the left, Luke seems as if he just returned from the wake. Perhaps he was caught in a time warp, because he seems to think it's the 1950s. In the heat of his conceptual rage, he sees only self-indulgent sows feeding at the trough of consumption. Thus does he miss the insight of the situationists that at the very center of this engorgement in commodities rests the bitter pill of nihilism, which having been swallowed by countless people has led them to search for a life really worth living. Absent from Luke's gloomy scenario are the student, youth and women's movements of the 1960s and '70s, except their most retrograde aspects, May '68 in France, and more recent acts of anti-capitalist rebellion by disaffected youth and others.

Finally, Luke's vaporous account is directly traceable to his theoretical position, a variant of Paul Piccione's theory of "artificial negativity," which holds that having suppressed the "organic negativity" of the old workers' movement, capital has been forced to construct an artificial negativity comprised of leftists and pseudo-radicals, who provide the requisite criticism needed to drive the system forward. A bloated modification of Marcuse's theory of "one-dimensionality," neatly tailored to the cynicism of the 1970s and 1980s, it tries to reduce every recent instance of rebellion to an absurd totalistic conceptual schema. Thus, Luke writes elsewhere, "The radical student movement was manufactured and manipulated in order to pressure the state out of a pointless, destructive war." Manipulated, it undoubtedly was. But manufactured? We apparently have here a kind of magical thinking in which the state assumes a god-like omniscience, undertaking the seemingly counterproductive task of engineering the political and cultural explosions of the 1960s (never mind the fact, embarrassing for Luke's thesis, that the 1960s youth phenomenon was world-wide) because it knew in advance that the result would be a sort of self-criticism posing no threat to the social order. But why should the state criticize itself in so circuitous and inefficient a manner? Or perhaps he means the opponents of the war themselves manufactured a movement which, initially autonomous and pregnant with radical potential, came to assume an essentially system-supporting role because it failed to overcome its initial limitations and separations and become a revolutionary movement. But this would be to describe the *recuperation* of acts and events, rather than their *generation* by a deterministic system, a completely different matter. Luke's formulation is, in fact, a logical and conceptual morass.

Like the black sheep who shows up at the family reunion to the discomfort of all, the discontinuity of

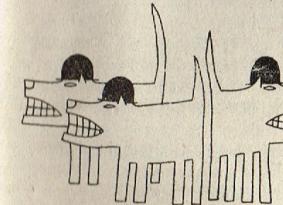
this action by publicizing this case and asking you to write protest letters and telegrams to the following addresses:

Exmo. Sr. Joao Baptista Figueiredo  
Presidente da Republica  
Brasilia, D.F. 70054  
Brasil

rebellion plagues Luke's theoretical construct with embarrassing insistence. Unable to account for rebellion by the logic of his system model, he banishes it from the world or grossly distorts its features and meaning. At bottom, he simply cannot see or imagine revolt against modern conditions.

The real question raised by Zerzan's article concerns whether the negativity he describes will unfold into a total challenge to capital's rule, or remain at its present state of incoherence, which would signal probable defeat. Whatever the answer to that question, the importance of the work refusal phenomenon is unquestionable.

—Bob Brubaker



## FOOTNOTES TO "ANTI-WORK"

<sup>1</sup>William E. Fulmer, "Decertification: Is the Current Trend a Threat to Collective Bargaining?" *California Management Review*, Fall 1981, p. 14. Also, *Dollars & Sense*, "Union Decertification Elections," February 1980, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Thornton Bradshaw and David Vogel, editors, *Corporations and Their Critics* (New York, 1981), p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup>*Nation's Business*, March 1981, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup>Peter L. Berger, "New Attack on the Legitimacy of Big Business," *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1981, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup>Herbert J. Freudenberger, "How to Survive Burnout," *Nation's Business*, December 1980, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup>Merrill Cherlin, "Burnout: Victims and Avoidances," *Datamation*, July 1981, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup>Robert L. Veninga and James P. Spradley, *The Work Stress Connection: How to Cope with Job Burnout* (Boston, 1981).

<sup>8</sup>Robert J. Kahn, "Work, Stress, and Individual Well-Being," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1981; Ahmed A. Abdel-Halim, "Effects of Role Stress — Job Design — Technology Interaction on Employee Satisfaction," *Academy of Management Journal*, June 1981; Orlando Behling and F. Douglas Holcombe, "Dealing with Employee Stress," *MSU Business Topics*, Spring 1981.

<sup>9</sup>Frank Kuzmits, "No Fault: A New Strategy for Absenteeism Control," *Personnel Journal*, May 1981.

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# THE COLLAPSE IN POLAND

*Winter is yours, Spring is ours!*

—Solidarity

Painted across a thousand walls in Poland, this promise reminds us that the democratic upsurge there is far from buried. A certain phase of the movement has ended. When the movement reappears its form will be different, advanced by the lessons of a year and a half in the open air, and by the lessons of December's defeat.

What led to the collapse in Poland? With 10 million industrial workers, three million farmers, and a half million tradesmen in Solidarity—that is, 80-90% of the workforce—how was a coup possible? With several months distance from December 13th, the pattern of events is a little clearer, and information on the resistance a little more available. Further discussion about the collapse is possible now, and as necessary as the debate surrounding Solidarity's gains.

#### The Counter-Offensive

The Polish Communist Party government was initially split and immobilized in the face of the Solidarity movement. "Hardliners"—e.g. CP members gathered around ranking central committee member Stefan Olszowski, the "Warsaw 80 Club," the anti-semitic "Grunwald Patriotic Union" and its journal *Reality*, etc.—could not command a clear majority in the party in 1980. The party itself was fissured by "rank and file" democratic efforts such as the so-called "horizontal structures" which attempted to connect party locals together at the base, communicating outside the party hierarchy. This effort at "renewal" of the party was active in Torun, Lodz, Szczecin, Gdansk and elsewhere.

Tadeusz Fiszbach, Gdansk party leader that fateful August of 1980, was sympathetic to the workers, liked by many shipyard strikers, and counseled for negotiations to settle the strikes. In fact, just as radical Solidarity members criticized the compromising attitude of Lech Wałęsa and other union leaders, the same conciliationism "weakened" the CP. This "liberalism" helped open the door for a year and a half of Solidarity's democratic experimentation.

By the Spring of 1981, however, the party hardliners were beginning to mobilize a counter-offensive that would reach full steam by August 1981 and culminate in the December coup. To highlight key events of this period of counterattack by the government:

- \* Feb. 1981 General Jaruzelski, then Minister of Defense is also appointed to head the government as Prime Minister. He proposes a three month strike moratorium and Solidarity's national leadership agrees.

\* 10 March 1981 In Piaseczno, Poland, 11 clubs



current methods of power used by Poland's central and regional governments. Armored cars are moving into position even as he speaks.

#### The Coup

In September Solidarity had expected martial law or some other intervention. In the factories, over the public address systems, methods for resistance were openly discussed. The government did not move then, possibly because resistance was being consciously prepared. After this period of tension, Solidarity's guard was relaxed a bit. The December move apparently caught many Poles by surprise.

Besides this element of surprise there were a number of advantages in the December timing for the authorities. In January '82 the new self-management laws were to go into effect, allowing worker participation in the selection of managers. These laws directly weakened the "nomenklatura" system (power of appointment of the party) and would have further eroded the authority of the party.

Regional and municipal free elections were also to be held at the beginning of 1982. The question of national political power, beyond economic and factory issues, raised in August and September, was now pushing to the front of Solidarity's agenda. All this had to be stopped before it got started.

In addition, winter is a harder time for spontaneous resistance to mobilize itself, especially when food and heating fuel shortages are arranged by the government.

The weekend timing of the coup, when workers were home, not in their plants, minimized the number of factory occupations—a tactical key to Solidarity's strength—and isolated people from their workplace comrades. The power of the Polish movement grew as it organized across regions and throughout society, not limiting itself to factory or even industrial organization. Still, the fighting units of Solidarity remained the workplaces, and these units were disrupted by the coup's Sunday move. By cutting phone lines, intercity travel, and imposing a curfew, the authorities further limited the communication and coordination necessary for an effective resistance.

Only the police and the most reliable sections of the military were used to directly attack the workers. When the question arose in August of '80, Jaruzelski had judged the army to be unreliable. It seems likely that Warsaw Pact communications channels were used to coordinate the coup, and not Polish army communications, in order to keep sections of the Polish army in the dark.

On Monday, 14 December, Polish soldiers and armored cars were stationed around the Gdansk shipyards. Soon the troops were talking with the people

tional leadership agrees.

\* 19 March 1981. In Bydgoszcz police use clubs to break up a Solidarity meeting, severely beating several of the local union leaders, the first time such force is used against the Union. Solidarity calls for a national general strike for March 31 in protest. On March 29, the Party central committee censures committee member Olszowski and other hardliners implicated in the Bydgoszcz provocation. Olszowski is kept on the CC however. After this censure, Walesa, without sufficiently consulting other Solidarity leaders (much less the rank and file), calls off the general strike. Also, in March, Warsaw Pact maneuvers in Poland (code named "Union '81") concentrate on perfecting the Pact's communication channels, channels independent of Polish Army communications. It was these channels which were used to coordinate Polish forces during the coup. (More on this below.)

\* 6 August 1981. The government cuts off negotiations with Solidarity (on "self-management," food supply, etc.), but claims in the media that the union cut off the talks.

\* 15 August 1981. "The Free Unionist," Solidarity newspaper at the Huta Katowice steelworks, is suppressed after printing an anti-Russian cartoon. One of its publishers is arrested and the union's local office is ransacked by the police.

\* 5 September 1981. Solidarity begins its first national congress at which it calls for "free elections to parliament and regional assemblies." A national referendum on self-management is also discussed. (In August the Solidarity leadership proposed a return to the 6-day work week if the 6th day could be self-managed.) At the second half of the Congress, held at the end of September, Walesa is challenged for the union leadership by the more radical Solidarity leaders Jasio Rulewski, Andrzej Gwiazda, and Marian Jurczyk. By a narrow majority Walesa retains the union presidency, getting 55% of the vote.

\* 8 September 1981. In the strongest language ever the Russians demand "radical and determined measures" against the "anti-soviet campaign" in Poland. The Polish CP in turn violently denounces the "adventurists" in certain segments of Solidarity. Then, in a new tact, hardliner Olszowski calls for a "national front" of the government, the leadership of Solidarity, and "all the patriotic forces."

\* 17 October 1981. Kania is deposed as First Secretary of the Party. General Jaruzelski, already Prime Minister and Defense Minister, is given the First Secretary position as well. He sends the army out among the people, ostensibly to help resolve local disputes. At the Party's 4th Plenum that month party members are given an ultimatum: Quit the Party or quit Solidarity. (By Oct. 1981, one third of the Communist Party belonged to Solidarity.)

\* 28 October 1981. Solidarity holds a one hour general strike, protesting the failure of the government to reopen negotiations on economic reforms.

\* 4 November 1981. Walesa, Jaruzelski and Catholic primate Glemp hold a "summit meeting" on Poland's crisis. By mid-November mail outside the country is being selectively interrupted. At the end of the month Jacek Kuron, long-time

—graphic from *Rivista Anarchica*, Editrice A, cas. post. 17120, Milano 20170, Italy

social democratic dissident, is arrested for allegedly planning a "political organization hostile to the socialist state." A tract seized at his house discussed the possibility of a "self-managed republic" in Poland. *Izvestia* charges that "counter-revolution is aspiring to power in Poland." At the beginning of December, Solidarity's National Commission, meeting at Radom, votes to hold a general strike if emergency powers are enacted by the government. (Walesa abstains on this vote.)

\* 8 December 1981. Jaruzelski holds a meeting with the first secretaries of the 49 party districts.

At this meeting the Party's national leadership is sharply criticized by the local leaders for not supporting and protecting them against Solidarity's "threats." Jaruzelski turns down a request for the issuance of arms to the local party apparatus, assuring them that every necessary step would be taken to protect party leaders.

\* 9 December 1981. Warsaw Pact commander Marshall Victor Koutikov (Russian) arrives in Warsaw. \* 12 December 1981. Solidarity's 107-member National Commission meets in Gdansk. Solidarity militant Jasio Rulewski proposes a national referendum, a vote of confidence (or lack of) on the

troops. Soon the troops were talking with the people there, who offered them soup and tea, and placed flowers in the gun barrels of the armored vehicles. "Solidarity" was painted on several of the armored vehicles. By Monday night, the government had to send in more reliable militia units (paramilitary) to replace the soldiers.

The Polish army is largely composed of draftees (154,000 of the 210,000 soldiers are draftees). Almost half of these draftees were drafted since the founding of Solidarity, and through prior direct membership, or through family ties, are influenced by Solidarity. In fact, the 1980 conscripts were held over because the army did not want to draft any new men in 1981 as they would have been too "contaminated" by Solidarity. (This move alone suggests that the army "had" to act in '81 or early '82—because the contamination would only continue and you cannot stop drafting year after year.)

Due to this contamination, troop rebellions and fraternization occurred repeatedly, and not just in Gdansk. Solidarity reported that in Bydgoszcz there was an armed clash between army units and the ZOMO (motorized riot police).

The government relied on the ZOMO and the militia—both professional, not conscripted, repressive forces—to break into occupied factories, and in direct clashes with the workers. Such reliable units were apparently rotated through the country, suppressing one locality and industry at a time.

Clashes were continuous and frequently very violent during the first week and a half of resistance. Events at the Wujek and Piast mines in Silesia showed the extent of the confrontations.

On the 15th of December the Wujek miners sent a delegation to the Staszic mine to find out what kinds of weapons and tactics worked best against the ZOMO. They gathered pneumatic hammer points (sharp and heavy), and welded large screws on the end of long metal rods—weapons known to work against the shielded, helmeted cops.

On the 16th tanks surrounded the mine. The crowd which gathered, chanting "Gestapo! Gestapo!", was dispersed with water cannon. But when the ZOMO broke into the mine, dozens of them were taken by surprise and were severely beaten by the miners. Three ZOMO were taken hostage, and threatened with hanging if the ZOMO entered again. Guns were seized by the miners, but then were thrown away. The first wave of attack was repulsed.

In the next attacks the ZOMO began firing on the miners. The miners responded with molotov cocktails. The miners were finally forced out of the mine, but not until seven had been killed, along with four ZOMO, and 79 people wounded.

The Piast miners, 2000 strong, and armed with large quantities of dynamite, were able to hold out down in the mine shafts for almost two weeks. Finally, starved out by the militia, the miners surrendered on the 29th of December. Similar occupations, often armed with explosives, had taken place at over a dozen other Silesian mines.

As fierce as this mine by mine, factory by factory resistance was, it could not stand up long against the Polish security forces. Uncoordinated, unarmed, undemanded politically, and isolated internationally, the Polish insurgents were doomed to defeat.

Continued on Page 12

## A REPLY ON POLAND

### A MOVEMENT WHICH IS "REPRESENTED" IS UNFREE

When I hear the term "seizure of power," my flesh crawls. It is a hideous term originating in the Marxist-Leninist movement and produces images of police round-ups and the gulag; it is the code word for counter-revolution. It is a thoroughly inappropriate concept for those who believe in human freedom and one best left to those whose only program is the elevation of the police to complete political power, i.e., socialists and communists.

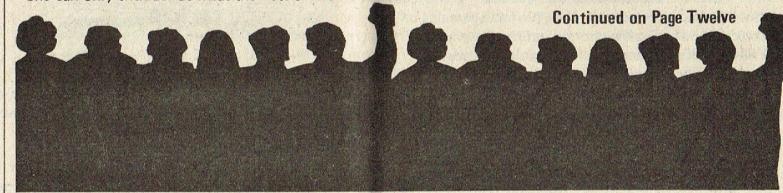
Power is only seized by politicians—those who would rule others. The libertarian project is to destroy power and shatter its representative, the political state. Only when this occurs will the potential for the construction of a human community based on free association and decentralization become possible.

I am probably in error to lecture Rudy since he has a long history in the anarchist movement, both at a theoretical and practical level, so hopefully much of what I object to is no more than a lack of precision on his part. That is, employing the terminology of leftist and marxist gangs points in a direction in which I am sure Rudy has no intention of going. Still, the concept of a rationalized and orderly society mediated fairly by a state which has been freed from the fetters of class rule arises repeatedly from those who should know such a dream is impossible.

A movement or a people which is "represented" is by definition unfree. The very process is absurd; it puts the Party or the "leading militants" in power. The experts rule. The people return to passivity. Soon the same state of affairs the revolution set out to eliminate prevail again. A "radical" Solidarity leadership is no better than a moderate one because it makes the decisions for millions; it decides what is opportune and what is crucial; and eventually it substitutes its will for the multitudes.

A small body of men meeting in Gdansk takes on the role of representative of millions. It becomes a racket and obtains the authority to speak to the reigning racket—the Communist Party. Perkins seems to think that a trade of rackets would have been of benefit to the Polish people when he writes that "the movement would have to assume political direction of the country." If there is any doubt what he means by this, it is answered immediately in his next sentence which sounds like nothing less than the self-management of Poland's state capitalist economy—"decisions on coal production"? Coal is Poland's major export mined in the same unhealthy, dangerous conditions that prevail in the U.S.; how would the movement "decide" what should be done with it? If the people of Poland made an authentic revolution it would by definition include an exit from the international economy of capital, and hence rid workers of the necessity of risking their health to provide foreign exchange currency. Or foreign relations: somehow the image of the "leading militants" of Solidarity negotiating with Alexander Haig is a bit more than one would expect from an overturning of Polish society. And the rest of what he writes: "allocation of food, housing, goods, etc., etc.," one can only shudder at what the "etc's" would include. It should be said that these are not the tasks which

Continued on Page Twelve



# THE COLLAPSE IN POLAND

Continued from Page 11

## Disarming the Movement

There is a tendency by those interested in revolution to shy away from military questions and the question of the military. This avoidance is a natural inclination, since genuinely democratic organization is almost impossible to maintain during civil war or prolonged guerrilla campaigns. By circumstances and maneuver Solidarity won a period of grace in which the mass strike was an adequate weapon. General strikes and factory occupations create the ideal conditions for far-reaching participatory democracy and the continued growth of militancy and insurgent thinking. But sooner or later either the power of the state must dissolve, or the state must suppress the insurgent democracy.

At this decisive moment the revolution must have won over sufficient numbers of soldiers to make suppression impossible, or else it must have ready a coordinated and effective defense against the military. In December of 1981, Solidarity, unfortunately, had neither.

Solidarity had made some attempts to penetrate the military and police, but without success. An attempt was made by employees at one of the military hospitals to organize a Solidarity cell. Everyone was fired. When workers at the military publishing house tried to organize, again, everyone was fired. At the police school, when some low-key union demands were raised, everyone was fired. The state knew that the armed forces were a key element of power.

Solidarity's failure to subvert the army was not its own fault. But its lack of a ready and coordinated defense has to be blamed, at least partially, on the moderate sections of the union leadership whose strategy of tripartite coalition disarmed the Polish movement politically. To even consider a defense plan, one must recognize that an enemy exists and that a conflict is inevitable. By aborting strike calls, by pulling in the reins on local militancy, and by considering a "front of national unity" (of Solidarity, Church and Party), Walesa and other moderates weakened the combativeness of the movement, and strengthened trust in the government.

As mentioned above, after the Bydgoszcz beatings Walesa called off the planned general strike. A few words of censure by the CP central committee was apparently enough show of good faith to satisfy Solidarity's president. But many "radicals" in the union's National Commission, as well as many, many more in the rank-and-file judged this to be a grave strategic error. After a temporary loss of face, Party hardliners were able to regain momentum—facing a union more and more ready to back off.

Throughout the summer and fall Walesa helped suppress the numerous strikes that were begun. Strikes were seen by him as disrupting the possibility of negotiating a sharing of power with the government, the government that was already preparing Solidarity's suppression. (Jaruzelski's appointment as head of

ship would then continue to serve as a shield against Russian intervention, and the Poles could do what they wanted.

Couldn't the Poles have organized an open revolution against their imperialist masters as has been done elsewhere? Factors which have aided other anti-imperialist struggles did not apply in Poland in 1981: distance from the imperial power (as with Yugoslavia), weakening of the imperial state by war (as happened after World Wars I and II), a colonial population armed by the imperial power to fight a rival imperial power (as in China and Southeast Asia during WW II), the shifting of spheres of influence (e.g., American support of anti-British movements as the U.S. moved into the Mid-East in the '40s and '50s), internal upheaval in the imperial power (e.g., in the U.S. during the Viet Nam war), the spread of insurgency in neighboring nations, etc.

Most of these factors the Poles had no way to change. They could attempt to spread insurgency in bordering countries, and in imperial Russia, and, in fact, they made initial efforts to do so. At its first Congress, Solidarity made an appeal to workers in the Eastern Bloc, announcing its strong support for those "who have chosen the difficult path of the fight for free unions." It asked workers of the socialist countries not to believe the lies being heaped on Solidarity. Solidarity also called for delegations from unions in other socialist countries to come to Gdansk, but only the Yugoslavs accepted the offer.

Left essentially isolated internationally, the Poles were caught between a rock and a hard place. But was the self-limiting revolution their only alternative? Tactically, yes. Strategically, no. As Kuron noted: "It is necessary, for a time, to coexist with the Party." (my emphasis) The problem with all reform tactics is that the moderates of the movement begin to pervert short-term tactical compromises into long-term strategic goals. So what began as a clear-headed evaluation of forces in the early decision not to mount an immediate, violent, frontal attack on the Party was gradually transformed by Walesa and Co. into a plan to merge the movement and the Party into a "national front."

In any movement, the spirit of combativeness and radical opposition must be nurtured, even if the time is not yet ripe for open conflict. Failing that, when conflict occurs, the movement is caught unprepared.

## From Opposition to Self-Management

By the end of the 50s the Polish ruling class had coopted "self-management." After the armed workers uprising in Poznan in 1956, the Communist government instituted "workers' councils" so that the workers would have a partial voice in the management of industry. The workers could not complain against themselves, the Party reasoned.

The most radical Poles understood this half-way "self-management" to be just a sophisticated repres-



Opposition to martial law in Poland continues on a daily basis. Above, workers in Warsaw tear down police barricades during an anti-government demonstration two days after the May Day riots in the nation's capital. Accounts reaching the West tell of both active and passive resistance in all parts of the country, as well as scattered reports of armed struggle. The attempt of the stalinist bureaucrats to "normalize" the economy and political life faces serious difficulties.

As long as the authorities have tight control of the economy and society, as long as no "power vacuum" exists, then "self-management" will actually be a partner in state management, a partial, reformist measure at best. Under such conditions radicalism and militance will gravitate to an opposition approach, not to any form of management. But once a power vacuum begins to emerge, once the authorities let go of the country and let it fall further into crisis, the radical position has to shift to (self-) management of the country.

Only at this point, there can be no partnership—the organs of self-management cannot tolerate the existence of the old state/managerial apparatus. "The workers councils are the only power, or they are nothing."

The Polish movement was at such a revolutionary juncture. Many of those who had insisted on a general strike of opposition protest after Bydgoszcz in March were, in nine months time, calling for an end to the Communist Party government. By the Dec. 12th Solidarity National Commission meeting, even Walesa realized that the Polish movement was going to have to face "devilishly serious matters, political matters."

To resolve the crisis the movement would have to assume political direction of the country. The political direction of the country—i.e., decisions on coal production, on foreign relations, on money or its abolition, on free access to the media, on the direction or disbanding of the army, on the production or allocation of food, housing, goods, etc.—all had a direct bearing on whether daily life could be transformed.

## Lessons of the Collapse

The lessons of the collapse are important to those willing to learn from it. This movement was pushed to the brink of the seizure of power, then faltered. The "self-limiting" phase was useful for a short period of movement expansion and consolidation, and bought time during which external factors weakening Russian imperialism might have occurred. But this phase needed to be accompanied by preparation for inevitable conflict over political control of the country, requiring continuing combativeness and a refusal of all partnership with the country's rulers. A movement of opposition, of criticism of the government had to build for the time when it instead forced the government aside and resolved the country's problems itself.

At such a critical juncture, the majority of the army had to have been neutralized or even swung over to the side of the movement. The reactionary units of the military should not have been allowed to establish separate and secret lines of communication and organization. Workers' and grass-roots organization needed to have had ready plans for defense, communication and coordination.

Such questions concerning the "seizure of power" may seem remote and speculative for those of us in the U.S. in 1982. They probably seemed remote and speculative in Gdansk in 1979.

—Rudy Perkins  
Boston April 1982

nomy of such complete dilapidation: everyone knows that penury is a consequence and a condition of the functioning of totalitarian bureaucratic society, and

pre-Bydgoszcz and should have served as a clear indication as to what lay ahead.

In August of 1981, for example, when the typesetters of the Olsztyń party newspaper, the *Olsztyń Tribune*, occupied the printing plant to prevent the production of the slander-filled journal, Waleśa sent Jacek Kuron to convince the typographers to end their strike. There were many other incidents where Waleśa or other national union leaders intervened to stop strikes.

Perhaps most disarming was the embrace by Waleśa, et al of the possibility of a "national front." The idea of a "national front" (of Union, Church and State), first proposed in early 1981, was revived in the fall by the extreme Party hardliner Olszowski. Olszowski's endorsement alone should have given pause. Unwilling or unable to hear Jacek Kuron's early warning—"The regime has received a fatal blow: either it must die or it must destroy Solidarity. There is no other solution."—the Solidarity moderates desperately hoped for an agreement which would partition power between Solidarity and the Party.

Waleśa carried this hope right up to the end, as his speech at Solidarity's National Commission meeting the night of Dec. 12th, the eve of the coup, makes clear: "... And now we have come to devilishly serious matters, political matters... We have come to a time that I myself had only foreseen for the spring, that I still have wanted to avoid... I have not wanted us to come to political solutions [i.e., the question of national political power] now... I have [since] come to the conviction that there are no other solutions, that political solutions must be undertaken sooner than I had thought." His realization that the movement would have to fight for political control of the country came too late.

The failure to adequately deal with the military question, the tendency toward conciliation, the hope for gradual reform, the failure to clearly point out the class enemy and organize against it, all contributed substantially to the collapse in Poland.

#### Geopolitics and "The Self-Limiting Revolution"

*The rulers of the USSR will not risk an armed intervention in Poland as long as Poles refrain from overthrowing a government which is obedient to the USSR. Consequently, let's abstain from that, for the moment. The agenda for today is a society democratically organized in professional associations or cooperatives, economically and locally self-managed. It's very necessary for us, for a time, to coexist with our totalitarian state and party apparatus.*

—Jacek Kuron

This straightforward evaluation of Poland's geopolitical location was the rationale for what Kuron, and many Poles, conceived of as a "self-limiting revolution." Though the Poles clearly worried less about Russian intervention than *Newsweek* did, it was because they assumed Russian and Polish Communist Party hegemony as a limiting factor from the start.

Consequently, the CP's political leadership of the country, and Poland's involuntary inclusion in the Russian sphere of influence, were not tackled head on at the beginning. The Poles seemed to hope for, as the French journal *Liberation* put it, a sort of constitutional monarchy with the Party retiring to the role of Queen mother. The shell of this titular Party leader-

aging the country or its economy in 1980. Instead, they preferred a strategy of *opposition*, striking to correct governmental wrong-doing. Such a strategy would allow Solidarity to make sharp criticisms of government policy, acting as an independent control commission, whose enforcement powers were guaranteed through the use of strikes.

The moderates in Solidarity, on the other hand, wanted a *partnership* with the government, to help it make the right policy decisions in the first place. In the initial phase of the '80/'81 upsurge, moderates and radicals alike assumed that the communist government would remain in place, to be either pressured or joined. Consequently, the fundamental problems caused by Communist Party rule, and the overall political-economic and social structure tied to that rule, could not be solved by either the partnership or the opposition approach.

At its best, the opposition strategy was able to achieve only limited successes. It could get some food released to the population, or force a reduction in press censorship, or win the release of political prisoners. To this extent it was able to alleviate, but not end the crisis facing Polish society. But even these limited successes depended on the willingness of the powers-that-be to be pressured into reforms, and on their ability to effectively undertake reforms.

In Poland (as has happened elsewhere—Russia 1917, Chile 1970-73...) the ruling class, once it began losing power, deliberately allowed the country to plunge further into economic chaos. At that point, opposition is no longer of any use, the movement must itself take on responsibility for the management and direction of the country.

## A REPLY ON POLAND

Continued from Page 11

will be coordinated by a revolutionary movement—these are dreams of administration more properly the concerns of the managers of the present state of affairs and not what should be concerning those interested in its overthrow. The revolutionary movement will lead the assault on capital and defend what it has gained. To cast it into the role of "co-ordinator" of the revolution is the sure road back to totalitarianism.

Again, it is probably inappropriate to lecture Perkins on the difference between the rank and file movement of millions and the bureaucratic edifice of Solidarity which devised strategies, made proposals, had negotiations, etc.—everything that distinguishes the leaders from the followers. Although, in this case the so-called followers were not very good at their assigned task—they repeatedly carried out strikes, occupations and other actions significantly more radical than what either the moderates or the "radicals" in the leadership wished to see occur. Still, his focus remains on the activity of the official organization. So what if Waleśa finally realized that his organization would have to "seize power?" It is nothing more than what he had said months previously as to what he would be willing to do if the situation arose. (See FE Nov. 19, 1981)

The potential for revolution *only* existed (or still exists) in the daily acts of the unchronicled millions who began to act much differently than either the pre-

18 continue such a transformation. It would have to seize this political power from the government, would have to transfer the ability to make these decisions to the organs of self-management and direct democracy throughout Poland.

The Polish Communist party knew that the debate on the seizure of power was surfacing, and that such a revolutionary juncture was fast approaching. The Party moderates had not disarmed the Party to the extent that Solidarity's moderates had disarmed Solidarity. For the Party, quicker political consolidation, combined with unshaken control of the military, was sufficient to overcome an insurgent movement of millions.

sent rulers of Poland or the official Solidarity organization wished them to. One reason the Solidarity leadership never considered the implications of a military defense of its gains is that it accepted the parameters of the existing society whether it was for strategic or ideological reasons. If there was a desire on the part of anyone within the official Solidarity organization for an authentic anarchist/communist revolution—one which sweeps away the political state, the capitalist economy, and all organs of repression—it was never enunciated. Rather, they appeared satisfied with a laundry list of reforms, most of which at least sounded like improvements, but which had they been implemented would have served the function of bailing out Polish state capitalism and the CP bunglers who created the mess.

Whether the average Poles were spontaneously creating conditions for revolution is hard to say: so little is known about their activity. It is certain that the movement is not dead; almost everyday brings new stories of resistance to the repression and at this juncture all who resist are heroic. When a people are under the gun, a credentials check of religion or trade union aspirations matters not.

Two other quick points. In the section about "nurturing militancy," this sounds distinctly like advice to the cadre on how to manage the ranks. If the basis of your action has someone else as its object, you should take a quick look to see if you are not in a hierarchy.

Secondly, Perkins puts quite an emphasis on military preparation for the anticipated coup. Had this been done even so slightly, wouldn't this in itself have been used as the provocation needed by the government to justify the repression? The solution does lie, as Rudy suggests, with subversion of the army, but the question is a complex one.

All of this criticism should not be taken to mean that I did not appreciate much of the information and some of the author's observations; I hope the author takes time in the next issue to answer my remarks.

—E.B. Maple, June 1982



From London we have received a poster on Poland, "It's Us They're Shooting in Poland," from which we quote:

"It remains to be seen whether this clampdown conducted according to the most tested methods of ordinary stalinism will enable them to restore an eco-

that, in addition to the pillage that the USSR makes its Polish province undergo, the failure of any rationalisation of production and distribution is inscribed in the very nature of this system and makes it the eternal debtor of the Western bourgeois. This interdependence on the economic level corresponds with explicit connivance in the practice of power: 'Speaking only as a banker it would be a good thing if Russia invaded, because then she would be obliged to honor Poland's debts.' (London bank official, *The Sunday Times* 12/13/81)

"The putsch, a police operation conducted by the Russo-Polish bureaucrats and the militia, cut short drastically that which mere infiltrations into Solidarity had not been able to succeed in doing... Simultaneously, the euphoric unconsciousness of the management of Solidarity, in refusing to understand that a situation of double power could only precede a confrontation, decoyed the movement towards illusory "free elections" whilst they had received alarming information issuing from the highest level: '(The dissident general, Dubicki) revealed that he had warned, since Nov. '80, those responsible in Solidarity about what was being hatched and that he had advised them to get ready to go into clandestinity. He continued to inform them later on about the preparation of the state of war, but, he concludes, 'they minimized the whole problem. They knew and didn't act.' (*Le Monde*, 12/12/81)

"The alternative is posed from now on:

"—Either the Polish workers, by actual deliberate sabotage of production (cf. call from No. 4 of the Solidarity bulletin), will lead passive resistance to a more advanced struggle which will liquidate the dead weight of the past in the minds of the living, notably the emotional attachment to a leader and the last nationalist, religious and reformist dregs of the movement. It will be a matter, at the very least, of going over to a conscious dynamics of radicalisation and extension over the whole sphere to the east of the Polish situation. Such a development requires the taking over by the workers themselves of all the aspects of their struggle, which amounts to putting into action the principles of direct democracy put forward since the beginning of the movement.

"—Falling short of these conditions, the Church will regain the place it was in the process of losing, and normalisation will prevail a little while longer with the trinitarian holy alliance that is being formed between the firing-squad party, the episcopal stench and the collaborating tendency of the trade union management opportunity purged by the putsch."

This is an interesting contribution to the discussion on the Polish events, and includes a censure of the British peace movement for failing to take up the Polish question in its patriotic attempt to negotiate "peace" between the western bourgeoisie and the stalinist dictatorships. It also contains an (as ever) unfortunate reference (in a quote from Rosa Luxemburg) on "the growing anarchy [sic] of capitalist production," but features many interesting and revealing quotes from the western capitalist press.

Copies of the poster are available free upon request from the FE with book orders or for 40 cents postage and handling. They can also be obtained directly from the people who produced them at: BM, bis, London WC1V 6XX, UK.

Continued from Page One

in world markets once again." In fact, businessmen have formed an organization, Businessmen Opposed to Nuclear War, with the slogan, "Build Businesses Not Bombs," supposedly on the assumption that nuclear extinction would be bad for business and other dead things. Roger Molander, another former Kissinger flunkie who worked on SALT II, has founded an educational organization, Ground Zero, which put on a week-long series of presentations and educational conferences during April. Even such architects of U.S. genocide in Indochina as former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and Presidential advisor McGeorge Bundy have warned against the doctrine of "first use" of nuclear weapons and the emerging counter-force strategy of the U.S. military, which prompted one pundit to observe, "What irony: War Criminals for Peace. Will the next step be Mass Murderers? Against the Bomb?" (*The Nation*, 4/24/82)

The nuclear freeze and its spin-off arms control initiatives have even become a fashionable affair which makes big bucks for the celebrities who manipulate it. Chic "petition-signing parties" have been held and have made the fashion pages of the newspapers, and black tie symphony concert benefits have been held. At Oakland University (in Michigan) several hundred people paid ten bucks a head to attend a symposium, "Peace in Search of Makers," where they heard Detroit Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, radical historian Sydney Lens, Paul Warnke (chief negotiator of SALT II under Carter) and John Anderson (who finished off the day with a talk entitled "The Arms Race and the American Political System: How to Turn It Around"). While Gumbleton (who in answer to a young man's question, "What about the Russians?" replied sanctimoniously, "You must be willing to be martyred") played for free and Lens got \$500, Warnke and Anderson both received whopping honoraria of \$1200, proving that there is money to be made even in people's fear of extermination.

Whereas radicals like E.P. Thompson, Daniel Ellsberg and Sydney Lens support a nuclear freeze, albeit critically (in Lens' words "only [as] the first step toward our *real* goal . . . the abolition of all nuclear weapons on this planet" ["How Deep a Freeze?" *The Progressive*, May 1982]), we can rest assured that the debate over a nuclear freeze among the U.S. political and military circles represented by the likes of Warnke and Kennedy does not originate from the same motives and does not intend to be any such first step. Warnke, for example, has made it clear that his reasoning is based on a notion of national security which simply differs in strategy from that of Reagan and his cowboys. In a debate with Eugene V. Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, he declared that it was important not to let the U.S.S.R. "injected divisiveness" into the NATO alliance, and therefore it was "terribly important" to reach an agreement on intermediate nuclear forces. "Perhaps I'm old-fashioned," he told an audience in New York, "but I still regard the Atlantic Alliance as one of the cornerstones of national security, one of our key advantages." In fact, he voiced support for an immediate freeze because "it would be much to our advantage because we're ahead." (*New York Times*, 3/21/82) MacNamara's reasoning was similar for urging Reagan to renounce first use of nuclear weapons in Europe in order to "defuse anti-American sentiment."



Photo: Basile Brown

**"Become a registered voter, our world needs your signature."**

—Michigan Freeze Campaign brochure

**The voter is a man who comes where he is summoned one day like a flunkey, to one who whistles for him as for a dog trained to obey, who comes on the said day and not on any other day. He is a man who comes when authority says: "The moment is here to sanction one more time a system established by others and for others than yourself. The moment is here to put aside one more time the idea of revolt against the organization that exploits you and to obey its authority. The moment is here to vote, that is to say, to make an act which signifies: I RECOGNIZE YOUR LAWS."**

—Paraf Javal

## THE NUCLEAR FREEZE

now favor a standstill in the arms race, or even a reduction of each superpower's nuclear stockpile—but they would still insist on the 'sufficiency' of what former Defense Secretary Robert S. MacNamara called 'mutually assured destruction.' Even Republican political consultant David Keene has observed, "It's like motherhood and apple pie. Who's going to be in favor of nuclear war?"

### Michigan Petitions for A Freeze

Michigan is one of the states in which petitions are being circulated for a referendum on a nuclear freeze. (As we go to press we have learned that the petition

the question of how and why these weapons were developed in the first place, when the U.S. military had the only atomic weapons in existence. By arguing the "safety and security of the United States" as paramount, they leave intact the myth of nuclear deterrence (which, as E.P. Thompson has noted, is not a stationary state but a degenerating one) and of U.S. national security and national interest. They leave the same hands on the same buttons, and the military imperatives of the U.S. government in place. That is why Ball can argue that a freeze "would quickly reestablish the confidence of its allies now so tragically wanng. Even more important, it would restore the faith of

it fails to challenge the conventional weapons system. As Seymour Melman, co-chairman of SANE and a leading figure in the disarmament movement since the campaign for a test ban treaty in the 1960's has written, "Indeed, it is a safe assumption that the Pentagon and the weapons scientists will be rewarded for their acceptance of the nuclear warhead freeze by carte blanche approval for a monumental increase in every aspect of the arms race except warheads." The victory of a nuclear freeze campaign could "taste of ashes," he writes.

"But it would not be the first time we have known that taste," he continues, pointing to the experience following the 1963 nuclear test ban. "It, too, was hailed in its time as a 'first step' toward general disarmament. In fact, it proved to be the first step toward disaster in Vietnam. President Kennedy bought off the generals and civilian hawks, the military industries and the weapons scientists by dramatically escalating the arms race on every front."

Melman, who also gives critical support to the freeze campaign for its "useful role in raising public consciousness on this vital issue," warns that "given the present terms of the Freeze Campaign, and the ambiguous record of American political leaders, this otherwise laudable 'first step' could become the last step of a doomed march against Armageddon." ("Is a Nuke Freeze Good Enough?" *Guardian*, April 21, 1982)

True enough, Alexander Haig has already argued (in response to the MacNamara proposal) that the alternative to the present nuclear buildup of the Reagan administration would be "to reintroduce the draft, triple the size of the armed forces and put the economy on a wartime footing." (*New York Times*, April 11, 1982). Rather than challenge the presuppositions of militarism in general, the nuclear freeze campaign poses as a more effective military strategy, as the book *Freeze!* reveals, in which the editors argue, "some of the savings from a freeze can be reallocated to improve the readiness and the reliability of our conventional forces." And Ground Zero Executive Director Molander, when asked in a recent inquiry (in the April 26 *Newsweek*) whether there were "any circumstances under which the United States should use nuclear weapons first—for example, to prevent a victory by Soviet conventional forces in Western Europe," replied, "It may be the only policy—if we and the Europeans are unwilling or unable to build those conventional forces that would ensure that we could blunt a Soviet attack on Western Europe." Of course, no matter what the balance of military power of the opposing armed states, historically nothing is guaranteed in war preparations—nothing, that is, except that war is eventually bound to occur.

### Negotiations Process a Farce

Despite the claims of freeze proponents that, in the words of one spokesperson, "Ordinary citizens will no longer let the so-called experts decide their fate," the proposal maintains completely the power of the arms control experts, the politicians and the strategists over their lives. To "urge" the government to "propose" a freeze to the Soviet Union reveals a remarkable ingenuousness about the nature of arms control and treaty negotiations: The whole process by which arms negotiators sit behind closed doors and argue over the descriptions and the numbers of weapons as a means of reaching an agreement which allows an

## Nuclear Freeze Bolsters National Security

George Ball, former Undersecretary of State under Kennedy and Johnson, also supports a nuclear freeze for reasons of U.S. national security. In an "instant book" recently published by Bantam Books, *Freeze! How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War*, edited by aides of Senator Kennedy, Ball writes, "We cannot avoid considerable responsibility for the demonstrations in European streets against the implantation of Pershings and cruise missiles on European soil. These demonstrations were temporarily halted when the administration reluctantly began negotiations on this limited area of nuclear policy—but that is only the beginning of the story. As warm weather returns, so will the demonstrators and they will continue to gain in noise and number until we begin prompt and serious negotiations to turn back the nuclear arms race all across the board." Americans, he notes gratefully, have been more "responsible" than their European counterparts. But if "serious arms reduction negotiation" is not pursued, he warns, "the national outcry may ultimately take a more strident and less responsible form."

But Ball sees a way out of this danger for U.S. government interests: "That is the significance of the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution," he concludes, because it gives "responsible expression" to the problem. The Kennedy-Hatfield resolution calls on the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to "decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems" as a beginning for "major, mutual and verifiable reductions" of weapons and delivery systems, which makes it even stronger than the Michigan initiative, which says nothing about reductions.

From Reagan offering his "heartfelt sympathy" to the demonstrators so feared by Ball, to the radicals and pacifists doing the footwork for the Freeze Campaign, everyone seems to be working towards assuring peace and avoiding nuclear war. Even arch-conservative newspaper columnist James Kilpatrick has taken interest in the freeze issue. Bemoaning the fact that conservatives have shied away from what he characterizes as "the most popular cause in the world," he noted in a recent column, "Unless words have lost their meaning, the Kennedy-Hatfield liberals are proposing exactly what Reagan's START proposed in November."

Indeed, one criticism of the freeze campaign is that it is "all things to all people," as one arms control expert said. Judith Miller reported in the *New York Times* (4/24/82) that Kennedy has frequently spoken of his freeze resolution "as if it called for a freeze now. To arms control specialists, Mr. Kennedy's aides have stressed that the resolution does not call for an immediate freeze. The text calls upon the Soviet Union and the United States to decide 'when and how' to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze in the arsenals. In other words, it only calls for negotiations now, not an immediate moratorium; in this sense, it is not all that different from the Jackson-Warner proposal, critics assert."

Even Lens, a supporter, warns that "the danger is that in its eagerness to enlist mass support—and Congressional sponsors—the movement will dilute its demands to the point where they are rendered meaningless. After all, most of the Senators and Representatives who have endorsed the freeze vote regularly and without protest for increased military budgets. They may

(As we go to press we have learned that the political drive of the Michigan Nuclear Freeze Campaign has been successful.) An organizer for the Michigan Freeze Campaign has written that even though the freeze "would not be binding on the federal government"—state officials would simply be required to write a letter to federal officials urging Reagan to propose a freeze to Soviet leaders—"it would still be an unprecedented opportunity for Michigan voters to take a stand on the arms race." ("State Nuclear Freeze Campaign Underway," *Detroit Metro Times*, Feb. 18–March 4, 1982) But if the freeze is "all things to all people," what kind of "stand" would voters (what few of them there are) be taking? Let's quote the "text of transmittal" which would be sent to Michigan politicians and presumably to the feds if the nuclear freeze initiative passed:

"The people of the State of Michigan, recognizing that the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people; and further recognizing that our national security is reduced, not increased by the growing danger of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, which would result in millions of deaths of people in Michigan and throughout the nation; do hereby urge that the Government of the United States immediately propose to the Government of the Soviet Union a Mutual Nuclear Weapons Freeze, whereby both countries agree to halt immediately the testing, production, and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles, and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides, and that Congress transfer the funds which would have been used for those purposes to civilian use."

Some freeze activists have admitted that this document is less than a radical evaluation of the present crisis, and that it leaves intact patriotic assumptions of national security, but they argue that it is a first step in a process of political education which makes necessary compromises to achieve a limited, but concrete goal. After all, in the estimation of one supporter, people aren't ready for anything more radical. One must make compromises if one is going to reach people. But if it is business-as-usual for Democratic Party hacks to make such assumptions about people's readiness to make social change, it is grotesque when self-proclaimed radicals who claim to be starting from an urgent concern over the imminence of nuclear war decide that people aren't ready for anything stronger than such proposals. Thus they begin from the outset with a surrender rather than pushing for more than is perhaps immediately possible and leaving the dealing and compromising to the politicians. The education that they claim the freeze will provide may after all end up just another education in demoralization and cynicism if it makes no radical critique of the process at hand. "Realism" which begins on the terms of the present state of affairs and which echoes its presuppositions can only be a realism of defeat.

What, then, does the freeze proposal leave intact? First of all, it leaves the entire ideological edifice of U.S. imperial power and the cold war in place, by preserving the premises of the established doctrine of mutually assured destruction (MAD). By arguing that "we have enough weapons" the freeze proposal avoids

rational men and women that our government is earnestly striving to save mankind from its own self-destruction." (sic!) It leaves intact the lie which Ball brazenly repeats that the U.S. ruling class is urgently working toward peace and that it has so far refrained (since Nagasaki at least) from using nuclear weapons, when in fact, as Daniel Ellsberg has observed (in his introduction to *Protest and Survive*, edited by E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith), the United States has repeatedly threatened to use nuclear weapons when its economic and military interests were at stake: "Again and again, generally in secret from the American public, U.S. nuclear weapons have been used, for quite different purposes [than deterring the Russians from attack]: in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head in a direct confrontation, whether or not the trigger is pulled." Among the crises in which the U.S. threatened to resort to nuclear weapons are the Korean War (at different times by both Truman and Eisenhower); the offer by Secretary of State Dulles to French Prime Minister Bidault of three tactical nuclear weapons for use in Indochina in 1954; the Berlin crisis in 1961; the Cuban missile crisis in 1962; when U.S. troops were surrounded at Khe Sanh, Vietnam, in 1968; Nixon's threats against the North Vietnamese, conveyed by Kissinger between 1969 and 1972; and Carter's declaration in 1980 on the Middle East to use nuclear weapons in the event of a threat to U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf. "It is in these unchanging circumstances that the *deterrant* tactic has recommended itself to a succession of U.S. administrations of *threatening* and preparing to initiate tactical nuclear warfare in the region, and to escalate if necessary, risking Soviet preemption or counter-escalation," Ellsberg argues.

## Maintains Trajectory of Confrontation

This notion of U.S. national security maintains the trajectory of confrontation because it does not challenge the underlying assumptions about U.S. global interests. When arms control advocates argue, as does Eric E. Van Loon, Executive Director of the Union of Concerned Scientists, that one must recognize that "present realities require a strong American defense system," and refuse (as he does) to call for unilateral arms reduction (let alone abolition), they are simply taking a different road to the same destination of war.

And the potential for and inertia toward war are always present, since the nuclear freeze campaign leaves in place those nuclear weapons already deployed, hence barely diminishing the risk of nuclear holocaust. It leaves the germ and chemical warfare machinery in place. It does not affect the innovations being made in laser and space weaponry, the defensive anti-ballistic weapons, or the innovations in anti-submarine warfare, which are all components in the counterforce system. It doesn't even affect the development of "stealth" bombers and cruise missiles, as some have argued, since these weapons could be employed with conventional bombs and warheads, and are therefore outside the bounds of the language of the proposal. It does not affect the recent moves toward renewing civil defense programs.

It does not even call for the removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe, which is the keystone of the anti-war movement's demands there. But most of all,

a means of reaching an agreement which allows all advantage and which leaves loopholes for their own strategic planning—arms treaty negotiations are nothing less than this—is the *epitome* of control by experts. To "urge" the government to make a proposal for a freeze at the conference table is tantamount to urging it to bargain in good faith, something which Reagan is already claiming to do. The entire negotiations process is a farce, and to fall prey to it is to invite the government to outflank such proposals with still another phony arms limitation or reduction proposal (as Reagan has done recently on more than one occasion and which he is bound to do again when he speaks at the United Nations on June 12). The reality of the problem is underlined by a statement by Molander, that "Basically, all technical efforts to limit nuclear weapons have failed." (*Detroit Free Press*, March 25, 1982)

The notion of verification is also a problem. Freeze proponents argue that modern satellite methods of verification and the sophistication of U.S. espionage make the problem obsolete, though it has historically presented an impediment and led to a breakdown in arms negotiations in the past. Obviously, this could happen again, but even if it did not, the result would be that the "fate of the earth" would essentially be left in the hands of the technicians and the espionage agents of the respective governments—in our case, the same "dirty tricks" experts who gave us the "Soviet style" military installations in Nicaragua, *ad nauseum*. Like the military officers and the arms negotiators, they serve the same State and its ruling class, and when marching orders come down they will do their duty.

The appeal and "good sense" so touted by its organizers that the freeze isn't unilateral but bilateral is really nothing more than the current state of affairs, for bilateral arms buildups, freezes, or reductions are all part of the very same process of military rivalry between nation states. California freeze proponent Willens, for example, emphasized in response to critics in the *Los Angeles Times* that the campaign was *against* unilateral disarmament: "What if the Russians say no, what then?" Our answer: 'Then the whole thing is off.' For as our initiative says, 'The safety of the United States must be the paramount concern of the American people.' It is clear that such a movement based as it is on fear of the enemy and the maintenance of national defense will easily fall victim to the machinations of the government at the conference table or the press conference, or to the sudden war frenzy provoked by some international upset (such as the Iran crisis).

## A Meaningless Gesture

All in all, even if the freeze were unilateral and anti-militarist, the referendum would be little more than a meaningless gesture, since it is in no way binding on the military strategists who could ignore it altogether as if it had been lost in the mail. The exhortation on the brochure for the Michigan Freeze Campaign to "Become a registered voter, our world needs your signature," reinforces the same passivity and the same faith in the willingness and the capacity of the leaders who got us into this mess in the first place to find a way out. Kennedy is riding this wave of high hopes and desperation. One can only assume that he anticipates riding it right into the White House in 1984. Similar hopes were founded upon the Carter candidacy

Continued on Page 16

*Powerline: The First Battle of America's Energy War*, Barry M. Casper and Paul David Wellstone, The University of Massachusetts Press, 1981, 314 pp.



In many ways this is a hard book to get a handle on. It would be easy to dismiss the protagonists as middle-income, conservative, small-landholding farmers pitted against a giant power company and only squawking when their ox is suddenly gored. But it's more than that. The farmers who tried to stop a 430 mile long direct powerline from trespassing across their property in the middle '70s were propelled along by the deceit of politicians and corporations until most of them had experienced a profound transformation in how they viewed their isolated rural world of western Minnesota.

Undoubtedly, the power companies who desired to bring electricity from a generating plant in North Dakota to the Twin Cities could never have envisioned the opposition that was to spring to the fore. When the line was first publicly announced, the farmers were flabbergasted to learn that the massive 180 foot high tower sites had been chosen by a computer which was programmed to assign a number from 0 to 6 depending upon how highly the area was valued in order to minimize an "adverse environmental impact." So, while airports, highways, and wildlife areas received a coding of 6, farmland was designated 0, and that is where the powerline was to zig-zag; across the farms of people never consulted as to its advisability.

The farmers rapidly formed a number of county organizations to combat the line and the first half of the book laboriously details the bureaucratic hearings,

prevailed, and the towers were erected, but the struggle did not stop at this point. The idea that since all legal remedies had been exhausted, the farmers should relent, occurred only to those within the power companies and the state government to whose benefit the judicial process had been manipulated. The farmers undertook a sustained campaign of sabotage against the powerline equipment which seemed even to the participants out of character for people raised on respect for private property.

Tower after tower came tumbling down; suspiciously soon, some said, after whole families of protesters would meet near the line for a "wienie roast." The farmers complained that "bolt weevils" had attacked the supporting structures and this is what caused them to crash to the ground. The companies soon offered large rewards for convicted saboteurs. Also, the towers suffered a rash of what the farmers called "insulator disease" as thousands of glass conductors were shot off the towers. The companies employed private guards, helicopters and state police, but no arrests were ever made and the sabotage delayed considerably the opening of the line. One farm wife, Patty Kakac, expressed much of what the farmers in the area felt: "It's funny. Several years ago I would have thought pulling towers down was extreme. Not now. I am almost to the point where it is not extreme enough."

But this is where the story leaves off and where it poses its ultimate question (or rather suggests it since the book never goes beyond the narrative): What do you do to move a struggle beyond the point where life is impossible for you?

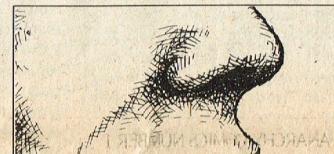
The farmers tried one less extreme measure: a gubernatorial candidacy of protest leader that contained a surprisingly radical reform platform of reduced military spending, minority and women's rights and slogans which said "Tax the

## BOOK REVIEWS

legislative committees and court actions that these believers in American justice undertook to get relief. However, the protesters quickly came to realize that all of their protests were for nothing. The alleged beneficiaries of the line, the city dwellers miles to the East, were hungry for energy, and the farms were to be sacrificed regardless of their feelings.

The opposition to the line was based on a variety of rational, tangible objections such as health and safety questions (the effects of living close to high voltage

corporations, feed the poor, deliver wealth to every door" and a song which ended with the New Left slogan of the decade, "Power to the People . . ." Certainly, changes of immense proportions



## News & Reviews

An anarchist group and bookstore, Impossible Books (Suite 202, 3435 N. Sheffield Chicago IL 60657) has been formed by a group of friends in the Chicago area. Although their resources are limited and funds low, they have initiated a newsletter and a small but growing booklist, and have put on several public forums and engaged in activities around the city. They also decided to take part as a group in the Chicago peace march on April 10 (attended by some 20,000 people) and distributed a leaflet entitled "Protest Without Illusions," which is worth quoting here: "Those who want to prevent nuclear war, or any war, must realize that there is but one answer to the problem: the abolition of the state and the dismantling of national armies." We've heard it all before, but the illusions of the growing disarmament movement indicate that it is necessary to repeat it. The Chicago anarchists have written, "Anything that people can contribute will be greatly appreciated. Money, furniture and office equipment are needed." More activities and forums are being planned . . .

A new publication is coming out of Ann Arbor, the *Street Sheet* (c/o 608 Pearl Street number 1, Ypsilanti MI 48197), a poster and newspaper aimed at presenting an Anarchist perspective on a variety of topics which we feel are, or should be, of concern to the community at large. Future issues will be forthcoming as we can afford them and as we generate enough money to justify the effort. The *Street Sheet* is free to its readers, and paid for out of the pockets of the people involved in its production. Donations and inquiries as well as articles are obviously welcome . . .

Left Bank Books wishes to announce that they operate a "Books to Prisoners" project in which they send any book in print in the U.S. to prisoners at cost (usually 30-35% off retail price) and pay all postage costs. They write, "Prisoners may order direct from us, or friends may write and arrange to have the books sent in." Direct all mail to Left Bank Books, Box A, 92 Pike St., Seattle WA 98101 . . .

The latest issue of the newsletter of the National No-Nukes Prison Support Collective (a support network for jailed and imprisoned anti-nuclear activists), has appeared announcing their new address: Subscriptions, donations, and information requests should be sent to Box 1812, Madison, WI 53701, and news about jailings and actions, publications and donations should be sent to Box 37, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Recent actions mentioned in the newsletter include a blockade at the Livermore Weapons Lab in California, disruption of a Rockwell International shareholder's meeting at the Pittsburgh Hilton for Rockwell's involvement in nuclear weapons and power work as well as the B-1 bomber; and other actions in San Francisco, Wooster, Massachusetts, Mather Air Force

base, and the U.S. Air Force Academy. Correspondence except subscriptions, to FL/SRAF, P.O. Box 2107, Kalorama Station, Washington DC 20009; subs (\$3/6 issues to individuals by voluntary donation or \$6 to institutions) to SRAF, Box 52, Cottage Grove, Oregon 97424.

From Eugene, Oregon, we have received the *Newsance*, published bi-weekly by Eugene Black & Red (P.O. Box 254, Eugene OR 97440). The issue we received had articles on "Spont" groups in Zurich who amuse themselves by, among other things, setting loose mice in department stores. Also, "Solstice Time," and "Your Life Is A Commercial" . . .

The latest issue of the *Anarchist Black Dragon* has appeared, beautifully done in many colors, with articles on (and by) Carl Harp, also on fascist prison guard gangs, practical schemes for outsiders, women in prison, the continuing struggles of Leonard Peltier and Standing Deer, the war on native peoples, and many other articles and discussions. Ron Reed of the Solidarity Committee announces that the next issue will return to the format of issues 1-7 "where it was laid out in prison and sent to an outside group to print and mail. That's how it should be, but due to some severe repression, that job fell on us outside." This issue is dedicated to Carl Harp, who had already written the introductory essay "The Dragon Speaks" before he was murdered by the Authorities. The *Dragon* will be sent by the FE to all prisoners free upon request for as long as our supply lasts. People can also write directly for info/Issues to Solidarity Committee, CP2, Succ. La Cite, Montreal Quebec, Canada H2W 2M9, or to John Bosch, 253269, P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla WA 99362 USA. (Don't mention the *Dragon* on the envelope to the latter.) Donations and stamps are especially appreciated, and can be sent to John Bosch . . .

The League for Economic Democracy (which publishes *Synthesis* (LED, P.O. Box 1858, San Pedro CA 90733), has made the interesting name-change to the League for Ecological Democracy, and published a couple of numbers containing articles and discussions on a broad range of subjects. Interesting articles on ecology, industrial plagues, pioneer ecologist Aldo Leopold, permaculture, and other questions are included. One article on micro-computers (in number 9) reveals a less than critical approach to this new technology and repeats the common syllogisms of decentralized autonomy based on computerized "information" flow; and its technocratic description of a society based on "eco-units" (somehow reminiscent of the Socialist Labor Party blueprints of the industrial democracy of the future socialist society) presents a technologically utopian future which leaves something to be desired. Quote: "Flowing from the local-area eco-units level [of 4,000 people] could be communi eco-units of 100 delegated eco-service representatives in 500 units serving 400,000 people each. These rotating, revocable, eco-service representatives would be elected on the basis of their knowledge, experience and wisdom and would cooperate to service the ideas, decisions, and needs of the local area, community and citizen eco-units . . ." When I hear the word "service representative" I reach for my revolver. *Synthesis* nevertheless does contain interesting news and discussions. They are interested in publishing "reasonably brief, well-thought-out ideas and analyses as well as reports and announcements of interest in this field." Subs are \$3.25/5 issues (U.S.) and \$4/5 issues (foreign) . . .

"WPNS has been produced weekly since 29 November 1981, and barring administrative murder thereof, will continue. Right now, it is only semi-collective, with anyone having a good story about something happening at WSP or the other contributing prisons having access to its pages. Up 'til now, that has translated into me [William D. Dunne, 271440, P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla WA 99362] and the Purdy [Treatment Center for Women] editor Marina Chavaud (P.O. Box 17, Gig Harbor WA 98335-0017) doing most of the writing, typing and editing, but the future holds promise in that regard as in many others. Further information on the subjects covered in



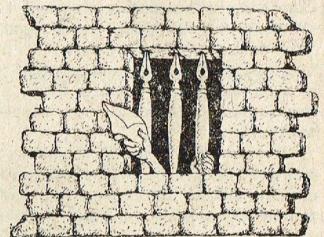
Dan Hub

vided by such people of good will is essential if the prisoners' voice is to be heard." Subs are \$8 Australian, prisoners free. Write to: *Jail News*, PO Box 215, Glebe N.S.W. 2037 Australia. We have also received a 1982 anti-authoritarian calendar from Panic Productions (PO Box K153, Haymarket N.S.W., Sydney 2000 Australia), and a poster-flyer *BUGA UP*, (c/o Box 78, Wentworth Building, University of Sydney Union 2006 Australia), published by a movement of graffiti artists and troublemakers which defaces billboards (how can you deface what is already a defacement?). Their "Spring Catalog" poster reproduces photos of their detournements (defacement) of tobacco and alcohol advertisements.

We have received the following announcement from the U.K.: "Women's writings, lyrics and poetry wanted for an anthology on nuclear holocaust by a group of politically active women attempting to use words to inspire change and resistance." Write R. Azen, Flat 3, 29 Honeywell Rd., London SW1 England . . .

Two fliers have come in from End of a Teacher (PO Box 8368, Austin TX 78712), "Factories don't burn themselves . . . they need help from you," and "War in the High Schools": "Students were told to put their hands on their desks," Dobbs said . . . The message is repression, the effect is brainwashing. From day one almost all of us have a cop riding on our backs. What class society wants to do is put the cop inside our heads . . ."

From "The Immensity of the Unknown" (from Praxis, Box 11075, 100 61 Stockholm 11, Sverige Sweden): "The electric light has eliminated the old conception of day and night on the human level. Reality always turns into a dream, but within the territory of the fantastically possible is found the making of DREAM TO REALITY . . ."



### PRISON NEWS SERVICE FORMED

A prisoner news service has been formed by inmates at Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, and has been functioning regularly despite (sometimes intense) harassment since last November. Bill Dunne, a prisoner in Walla Walla, wrote a letter to us recently in which he described the goals of the Washington State Penitentiary News Service (WPNS) as "to disseminate some real and correct information about this face of the state, counter some of the distortions and outright lies put out by the prison administration, work on changing people's very negative conception of prisoners and develop some communication skill and inclination." Bill continues,

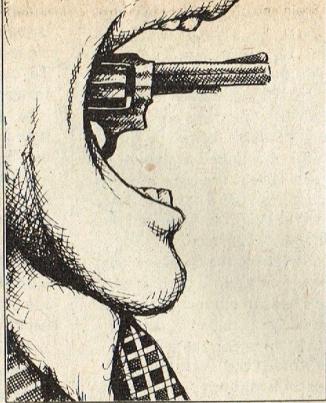
"WPNS has been produced weekly since 29 November 1981, and barring administrative murder thereof, will continue. Right now, it is only semi-collective, with anyone having a good story about something happening at WSP or the other contributing prisons having access to its pages. Up 'til now, that has translated into me [William D. Dunne, 271440, P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla WA 99362] and the Purdy [Treatment Center for Women] editor Marina Chavaud (P.O. Box 17, Gig Harbor WA 98335-0017) doing most of the writing, typing and editing, but the future holds promise in that regard as in many others. Further information on the subjects covered in

direct current powerlines are still not known conclusively) and the interruption of irrigation, but mostly it boiled down to a commitment to and protection of the land. The farmers were insulted by the obvious disregard for their feelings by the power companies and state government, but perhaps most importantly they did not want this symbol of the cities and the modern world parked in their back 40. Verlyn Math, one of the protest leaders put it thusly: "[Farmers] have assumed protection of the land, . . . and they are the stewards, and outsiders are desecrating it with this massive thing against their will." Or by another, Gloria Woida, who said, "I love farming. I could never be satisfied in the city. I like to be able to step out the back door and let out a holler."

It was these sentiments which led the farmers to direct action when the charade of the courts had finally played itself out and held that the state had the right to seize the land for the powerline. Months after the surveyors came on, Virgil Fuchs' land in June 1976 a tripod was mashed. This was the beginning of a long series of violent clashes between farmers and the powerline crews and the state police. Ball bats and riot batons flew, crowds of angry farmers routed the surveyors and construction workers, a protest newsletter appeared, resistance meetings sprung up and, finally, arrests—arrests of people committed to law and order, but who had finally been pushed to the limits. The conservative nature of these West Minnesotan farmers had been broken. Gloria Woida, a protest leader: ". . . I will never shut up and be a quiet person again and I will be involved in other struggles. Had I known what the Indians were going through in Wounded Knee, I'd have been there; and if I'd known more about the Vietnam war protests, I think I would have been there."

By 1978 hundreds of farmers had joined the fray and went into the fields daily to stop the surveying and construction. It finally took the stationing of half of the entire force of Minnesota State troopers to stop the angry protesters who had moved to mechanized protest utilizing tractors, manure spreaders and ammonia sprayers. Civil disobedience tactics were employed with some of the participants smearing themselves with pig shit making their arrest and detention a decidedly objectionable process to the guardians of the law. Community solidarity was so intense that several of the local sheriffs refused to enforce the court decisions against the farmers and one long-time county prosecutor resigned rather than bring charges against his neighbors.

The 200 armed troopers eventually



had overcome these people.

This "small" struggle, defeated and overcome, still had the capacity to transform its participants, to affirm their commitment to the land and their community, and to strengthen them in their search for something "extreme enough" to liberate their land from the powerline.

—E. B. Maple

### DETROIT SEEN

Continued from Page Three

threats of violence—and it is to violence that the SL turns more and more frequently. Be it a report of El Salvador demonstrations in New York and Washington, or an anti-nazi rally in Ann Arbor, the SL paper is filled with accounts of its battles with the "opportunist" of the other sects much in the style of the Weathermen or worse, Lyndon LaRouche's Labor Committees. Perhaps it is a natural consequence of years of party life where membership remains excruciatingly and obviously small, with a faster turnover than a MacDonalds. It's a situation ripe for political nuts and police provocateurs, for those who dream of violence and those who engineer it.

Perhaps our only mistake was to single out the SL for special criticism for we don't have anything better to say about any of the rest of the alphabet soup drooling to take up the reins of power under their party. Any number of them put on a more congenial and democratic front, but perhaps we owe it to the SL for the honesty that the others lack. The SL at least carries its program openly—the police shall rule!—where the others keep their admiration for their particular favorite mass murderer, be it Stalin, Trotsky or Mao, or whoever, hidden behind democratic platitudes.

base ISAC) near Sacramento, and at Nevada nuclear test sites and elsewhere. The editors of the newsletter write that they need help in both writing and production, and would like to decentralize the operation. They ask that anyone interested in working with them on it in any capacity should contact them at the Arizona address above . . .

Other projects which provide valuable information on nuclearism are Nukewatch, 315 W. Gorham Street, Madison WI 53703, and Don't Waste America which produces the Lake Superior Region Nuclear Waste Update from the same address . . .

From Citizens for Non-Linear Futures (P.O. Box 31638 Seattle WA 98103) comes issue number one of *Patio Table* (subs \$5/5 issues), a folded poster-publication containing articles on the draft, Roy Lichtenstein, "Plastic Plasma Body of Blood," Jurgen Habermas, America after television, last summer's riots in the U.K., and more. We quote: ""in the gray-less eyes of the Sado-Masochistic Nation" in the fathom-less death-love-cancer eyes of the Survivors and the pigeon Clerks 'we' are a trillion MAGGOTZ" . . .

The Transformation Bulletins numbers 72, 73 and 74 have appeared. Number 73 includes communications from Helsinki, Finland; Chicago; Paris; Columbia MO; a particularly interesting letter from LEAF in Denver on work with high school students and on the relationship between anarchism and the non-statist cultures of indigenous peoples. SRAF writes that "It might be a good idea if groups took the time to re-affirm their affiliation . . ." All cor-

It was extremely curious to us that the Sparts ignored virtually every indictment of the crimes of Trotsky and his epigones and instead centered on one sentence for their innuendos and threats against us (they end the article by warning us to "retreat" or "get into real trouble"). They focused instead on our claim—mainly used for our tongue-in-cheek title—that the Soviets were using poison gases in Afghanistan.

They apparently don't believe the charges that the Soviet army is gassing Afghani tribesmen, and from what we have heard subsequently, it does appear that many of the claims are at best shaky. Nevertheless, if much of the evidence for Soviet use of gas in Afghanistan turned out to be U.S. State Department ballyhoo, it certainly was not beyond the realm of the possible (and we still would not lay money down that they haven't used it). After all, as David H. Morrissey reported in the February 1982 issue of *The Progressive* magazine, "The Soviets, who like the Americans captured tons of German nerve gas at the end of the war with Hitler, have integrated chemical warfare into their military strategy. Soviet troops reportedly train on battlefields contaminated by live nerve and blister gases. According to intelligence reports, several Soviet soldiers die each year in accidents during such training." He also writes that the Soviet chemical warfare capability may be "the greatest in the world by some accounts." U.S. intelligence reports estimate that the

Still, we prefer to be accurate in our claims and don't mind making retractions when they are in order. So perhaps an apology is called for: instead of "Hail Red Army Nerve Gas," a more appropriate slogan might be "Defend Red Army Nerve Gas," since they must believe that "defense of the socialist motherland" begins with the defense of its nerve gas . . .



Recent foreign publications received include *Musta Toli* (Box 151, 00141 Helsinki 14, Finland), a weekly (?) anarchist tabloid. They are interested in receiving news and publications in exchange, and plan to publish a monthly "infoleaflet" on events in Finland . . .

Also, from Oslo, Norway, we have received *Jaap Bulletinen* (Hjelmsgt 3, Oslo 3, Norway), but we can't understand a word of it. Does anyone speak Norwegian out there? We still have foreign language publications free upon request with book orders (or for postage) in German, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek. State the language of the publication you would like to receive . . .

From Australia comes *Jail News*, published by the Prisoners' Action Group, "an independent organization of ex-prisoners and friends which fights for the advancement of prisoners' rights in New South Wales. At the same time as providing support facilities for both prisoners inside the jails and those just released, the PAG attempts to focus public attention on the iniquities of the present system. It believes that the only effective means of achieving change in the jails can come from a movement organized and run by prisoners and ex-prisoners. Around this base it hopes to encourage the assistance of prisoners' relatives and friends, as well as those sympathetic with the PAG's aims. The help pro-

Soviet stockpile is somewhere near 30,000 tons, and that the Soviet chemical corps numbers some 70,000 troops. Now perhaps the U.S. imperialists are lying and the figures are only half as great as they claim. But only a fool or a petty gangster jockeying for the Soviet "franchise" would argue that it isn't there or that the stalinist dictators would hesitate to use it.

But why such shock and umbrage on the part of these small-time stalinists out of power? They don't mind napalm and anti-personnel bombs and the indiscriminate helicopter raids on villages; it's a Vietnam-style war and these creeps are supporting it. Their whole hysterical call for "defense of the Soviet Union" goes beyond its quaint reminiscence of the 'thirties. It is a part of the current drive toward war. The tiny sect supports one side in the interimperialist rivalry in the same way that a good American patriot supports "his" side. Their shrill and degrading defense of the gulag-state is only another falsetto note in the exterminist chorus of the approaching slaughter.

Still, we prefer to be accurate in our claims and don't mind making retractions when they are in order. So perhaps an apology is called for: instead of "Hail Red Army Nerve Gas," a more appropriate slogan might be "Defend Red Army Nerve Gas," since they must believe that "defense of the socialist motherland" begins with the defense of its nerve gas . . .

author or editor; we try to keep the articles in the service as brief as possible in order to cover as much in the limited space as our meager resources allow . . . Eventually, we hope to be able to rotate the editorship between the prisoners who contribute at each participating prison, with the WPNS becoming a collective source of reports from the prisons involved. This will facilitate skill development and give the service some security. It will also make WPNS independent of the continued presence on the 'main-line' of any particular individual, given the possibility of midnight busrides and trips to the hole (though the latter didn't stop numbers 10, 18, and 20-24!).

"WPNS, like all such endeavors, needs support. We try to make it available to those who perceive a value in it but cannot pay because dissemination of the information is our primary goal. But economic reality prevents us from going as far as we'd like in that regard, expanding as an information outlet, and from making the information available free to people with a particular need to know. In fact, we will soon have to cut back if we can't bring our operation out of the red soon. If you think it's worth donating some money or stamps to or subscribing to (at \$2.50/month—\$30/year) send what you can to Washington Prison News Service, 219 First Ave. N., Suite 135, Seattle, WA 98109. Whether or not you do, we are interested in people's thoughts on the service."

Continued on Page Fifteen

### Credit Where Credit is Due Dept.:

Over the last few issues we've neglected to give proper recognition to several of those who have provided us with valuable articles and graphics. "Gift Exchange & The Imagination," the long essay which appeared in our Jan. 19, 1982 edition was written by Lewis Hyde and first appeared in the Kenyon Review, Kenyon College, Gambier, OH 43022. In the same issue, on page nine, the two-cartoon panel was from "Griffith Observatory" by Bill Griffith available from Rip-Off Press, Box 14158, San Francisco, CA 94114. In the same issue, the address of Be Free was incorrect; it should be: P.O. Box 1131, Eugene, OR 97440. In the Nov. 19, 1981 issue M. Kasper was responsible for the graphic/story on page three and on the back page, "Smokey the Bear Sutra," was reprinted from a 1969 edition of the Fifth Estate. The poem appeared then anonymously, but we had reason to believe at the time it was the work of poet Gary Snyder; the artwork was by Detroit illustrator Carl Lungren.

Bad news: our offices were burglarized late in May after a renovation crew removed a security screen from our window. Approximately \$400 in endorsed checks was taken which means they are not cashable, but still puts us out the money. We have sent letters advising some people who sent us money, but if you don't receive back a cancelled check, please contact us.

## NEWS &amp; REVIEWS

## Continued from Page Fourteen

Bill points out that the news service includes contributions from Walla Walla and Purdy, and has begun to receive information and contributions from the Washington State Reformatory, the McNeil Island Correctional Center, and the Pine Lodge Correctional Center. He notes, "Communication is often difficult for prisoners of the state, as these things sometimes move slowly."

Obviously, the administration of the prison is not happy with prisoners creating their own forms of communication and making information on their condition available to the outside world. In January, WSP warden C.R.M. Kastama demanded to know who authorized the WPNS, labelling it inflammatory and full of distortions. In April, the WPNS "office" was raided and ransacked by a squad of special guards. According to the newsletter, "The 'search' was apparently on administrative command, because wing guards indicated they did not request the search, nor had they been informed that it was to take place. Many items were confiscated by the prison 'goon squad,' but the producers of the newsletter remained undaunted.

"The unnecessary disruption and invasion of legal privacy and unjustified confiscation are repressions to which life with big brother subjects all prisoners," they responded to this harassment and violation of minimal human rights which they allegedly enjoy. And they have continued to publish and distribute their newsletter with news on guard brutality, on the trials and continuing harassment of such prisoners as Jimi "Dexter" Simmons, the misuse of prison funds by the administration, and other subjects of importance to the prisoners and to those on the outside who are concerned about their safety and their welfare.

Letters of inquiry, support, and criticism, as well as donations, are welcome at any of the addresses listed above, but correspondence to prisoners should, as always, omit mention of the newsletter on the envelope to facilitate its getting through to them.

Other news regarding prison support work is not so positive. We recently received a letter announcing the demise of the prisoner support group HAPOTOC after the loss of several members over the last two years and especially after the death of one of its most active people, Aus Greidanus. The correspondents write, "Those among you who have been with us for all these years know what we are about, that helps but it still hurts. And for all that we have shared together, we ask you DON'T GIVE UP! Join another group who works a similar way! STAY ACTIVE! Do whatever has to be done. Keep the lines open with the brothers and sisters behind the walls. Don't let them down. We too will remain active, we'll write with and for prisoners as always and will stand up against nuclear insanity, as always... For us the question remains though: why didn't more people join us? Perhaps because success will come only in the long run, if it comes at all. It is very frustrating work at times, maybe that's why so many people shrink back from it... But we thought it was necessary and hopefully one of you will see that too and start or continue with the work." They want to keep in contact with other activists and can be reached c/o PO Box 22523, Fazantenhof, Amsterdam, Holland, or c/o Box 10638, Amsterdam, Holland. The work of HAPOTOC will certainly be missed.

-P. Solis



# FE BOOKSTORE

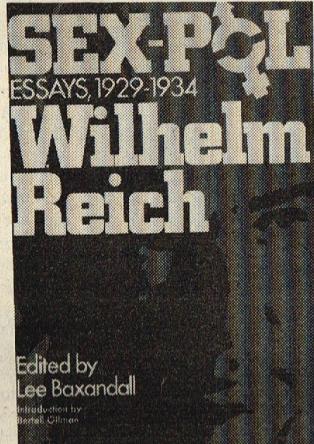
The FE BOOKSERVICE is located in the same place as the Fifth Estate Newspaper, both of which are located at 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit MI 48201—telephone (313) 831-6800. The hours we are open vary considerably, so it's always best to give us a call before coming down.

## HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL:

- 1) List the title of the book, quantity wanted, and the price of each;
- 2) add 10% for mailing—not less than \$6.33 (which is the minimum charge for 4th Class book rate postage);
- 3) total;
- 4) write all checks or money orders to: The Fifth Estate. Mail to Fifth Estate Books, 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit MI 48201.

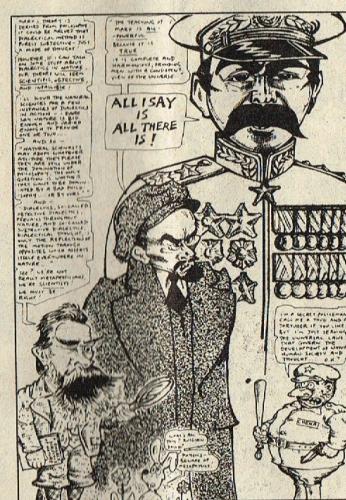


## NEW ARRIVALS



### SEX-POL: ESSAYS 1929-34

by Wilhelm Reich, ed. by Lee Baxandall  
This volume contains the first complete translations of Reich's writings from his marxist period, which ended with his expulsion from the German Communist Party. Although they are flawed by the attempt to enforce a stiff ideology onto Reich's desire for sexual and ultimately total human liberation, they still remain valuable. Actually, several of Reich's most important writings such as *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *The Sexual Revolution* were also published during this same period and used marxist terminology as well. However, with his rejection of both stalinism and marxism, he subsequently revised his later editions to provide a much more readable text, excised of the original sterile marxist language. Even with its drawbacks, texts like "The Imposition of Sexual Morality" and the other essays make the collection well worth reading. Random House hardcover, originally \$10.00, Now \$4.00



### CRITIQUE OF STATE SOCIALISM

by Richard Warren and Michael Bakunin  
A large format comic which intersperses classic Bakunin quotes with a fast-paced history of socialism from Babeuf's Conspiracy through the Bolshevik counter-revolution up until the current day of leftist and would-be rulers. As a little cartoon figure says on the cover, "What a boring title . . ." but it masks a thoughtful, informative, and utterly devastating critique of state socialism, much of it out of the mouths of socialist politicians themselves. Cienfuegos Press 44 pages \$2.95

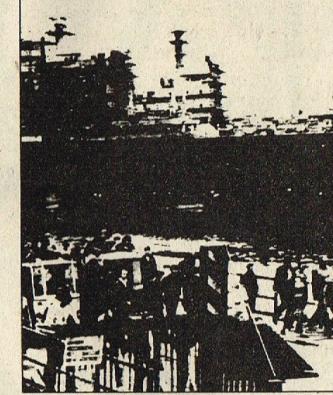
### TELOS: A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF RADICAL THOUGHT—NUMBER 46 (Winter 1980-81)

We missed bringing you this issue when it originally appeared, but thought it contained enough interesting material to offer it at this time. Contains a "Special Symposium on the Crisis of the Left" as well as a controversial article by Cornelius Castoriadis, "Facing the War," in which he sounds (according to some) more like Kissinger than a radical theorist. Castoriadis' book by the same name, interestingly enough, has achieved widespread notoriety in France. This issue also contains Carlo's "The Crisis of the State in the Thirties" as well as other articles and reviews.

Telos Press \$5.00



## THE STRIKE IN GDAŃSK



### THE STRIKE IN GDANSK, AUGUST 14-31 1980

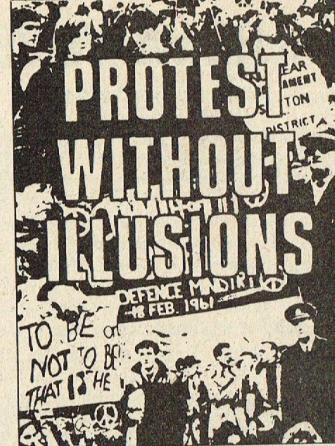
Edited and translated by Andrzej Tymowski  
This short history chronicles the strike which marked the beginning of the Polish explosion. Contains accounts of the event taken from strike bulletins, Solidarity newspapers and interviews. Also, a critical Afterword on Solidarity since the strike. Don't Hold Back 50 pp. \$2.75



PLATTFUS

### TELOS NUMBER 50 (Winter 1981-82)

Contains another "Special Symposium," this one on "The Role of Intellectuals in the 1980's," as well as "The Roots of Re-Armament" which contains a brief rebuttal of Castoriadis and an interesting discussion of the European disarmament movement, "Empire vs. Civil Society: Poland 1981-81" by Andrew Arato and John Zerzan's "Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control" and Tim Luke's rebuttal which also appear in this issue of the *Fifth Estate*. Telos Press \$5.00



### PROTEST WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

by Vernon Richards

This excellent collection contains many articles written for the anarchist journal *Freedom* by a participant in the sit-downs and marches against the Bomb in England during the late '50's and early '60's. This is anything but dry history, since while the author commented on the events of the day he raised important criticisms and discussions on the nature of the activity taking place, discussions which have a direct relationship to the questions facing those of us who oppose the nuclear state today: the problem of the media, the notion of pressure groups which attempt to influence the activities of the state, the problem of organizing around fear of war rather than a vision of a new society, the political illusion, etc. This book should be read by all who are interested in this question. "There are no short cuts to peace. There are no compromise solutions between the rulers and the ruled. The day when we will be in a position to influence government we shall also have the strength to dispense with governments. Until we can put short term prospects in their proper perspective we shall continue to overlook the long term aims which alone can ensure a world at peace..." (1959) Freedom Press 168 pp. \$4.25

### THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK

by Gregory Petrovich Maximoff

Develops the theme that the stalinist terror of the 1930's, the bureaucratisation of Russian society, the imperialist escapades, through to today's lack of human rights in Russia and other East European countries are not aberrations in the development of socialist society, but rather a logical development in marxist philosophy and action. It serves one main purpose: "to dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror." Black Thorn Books 337 pp. \$9.20

### ANARCHISM AND MARXISM

by Daniel Guerin

"...Anarchism and marxism, at the start, drank at the same proletarian spring..." "As the libertarian historian A.E. Kaminski wrote in his excellent book on Bakunin, a synthesis of anarchism and marxism is not only necessary but inevitable. 'History,' he adds, 'makes her compromises herself.'" Cienfuegos Press \$1.25



We are now offering back issues of the FE for 50 cents a copy. Send 75 cents postage and handling for a copy of Vol. 15. No. 6 which contains an index of available issues.

#### BULLDOZER (THE ONLY VEHICLE FOR PRISON REFORM)—Number 3

Contains poetry and articles, graphics, info on solidarity campaigns, much more. (All issues of *Bulldozer* are free to prisoners either from the FE or direct from P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Canada M5W 1W4.)

38 pages \$1.00  
(Issues number 1 and 2 are also available for 50 cents each.)

#### ANARCHIST REVIEW NUMBER 5

Large format (8½x11) 120 page anthology of articles, reviews, photos, cartoons, news, includes the Cienfuegos Press News. "Some Thoughts on Organization," "Anarchists in the Mexican Revolution," "Occult Authoritarians," "Anarchists in Fiction," "The Libertarian Movement in the Netherlands," "Do-It-Yourself Radio Station," several articles by Errico Malatesta, and much more. Cienfuegos Press \$5.50

#### THE REPRODUCTION OF DAILY LIFE

by Fredy Perlman  
Discusses the mechanism by which human beings continue to reproduce the conditions of our own immiseration. "Men who were much but had little now have much but are little." Black & Red 24 pp. \$25

#### BOL SHEVIKS & WORKERS CONTROL

by Maurice Brinton  
An excellent chronology and analysis of Bolshevik betrayal of the revolution from the seizures of the factories to the crushing of the Kronstadt Commune. Black & Red \$1.00

#### HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT

by P. Arshinov  
History of the anarchist peasant revolution in the Ukraine with telling revelations about the nature of "revolutionary" Bolshevik military and social policy. Written by a participant in the Makhnovist movement. Black & Red \$2.50

NOTICE: We will include with all book orders free upon request or for 63 cents postage *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*, by "Internationalist" and with a foreword by Stuart Christie.

Edited and translated by Ken Knabb  
Contains over eighty texts—leaflets, articles, internal documents, film scripts, etc. With notes, bibliography and index. "The situationist destruction of present conditioning is already at the same time the construction of situations. It is the liberation of the inexhaustible energies trapped in a petrified daily life. With the advent of unitary urbanism, present city planning (that geology of lies) will be replaced by a technique for defending the permanently threatened conditions of freedom, and individuals—who do not yet exist as such—will begin freely constructing their own history." —S.I., 1961  
Bureau of Public Secrets 406 pp. \$10.00

#### FOR A CRITIQUE OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE SIGN

by Jean Baudrillard

Attempts an analysis of the sign form in the same way that Marx's critique of political economy sought an analysis of the commodity form: as the commodity is at the same time both exchange value and use value, the sign is both signifier and signified. Thus, it necessitates an analysis on two levels, with the author confronting all of the conceptual obstacles of semiology in order to provide the same radical critique that Marx developed of classical political economy.

Telos Press 214 pp. \$4.50

#### THE MIRROR OF PRODUCTION

by Jean Baudrillard

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44 pp. 25 cents

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by Camatte and Collo

Argues that the establishment of capital within material existence "and therefore within the social community" is accompanied by the disappearance of the traditional personal capitalist, the proletariat, and the theory of the proletariat. "This is only another way of saying that capital has succeeded in establishing its real domination. To accomplish this, capital had to absorb the movement which negates it, the proletariat, and establish a unity in which the proletariat is merely an object of capital. This unity can be destroyed only by a crisis, such as those described by Marx. It follows that all forms of working class political organization have disappeared. In their place, gangs confront one another in an obscene competition, veritable rackets rivaling each other in what they peddle but identical in their essence."

Anonymous 40 pp. 50 cents

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from the text by Munis

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Cienfuegos Press 112 pp. \$4.50

#### MILLY/WITKOP ROCKER

by Rudolf Rocker

A tribute to anarchist fighter Milly Witkop, wife of Rudolf Rocker, on her death in 1955.

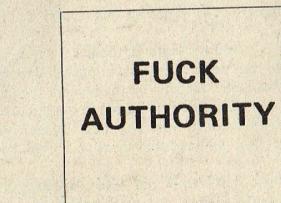
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by Andy Anderson

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This book remains as pertinent as ever, and its descriptions of life in an allegedly future totalitarian society sound increasingly like life today, not only in the state capitalist Leviathans in the East, but also in the decaying, miserabilist atmosphere here in the West.

Signet, originally \$1.50, now \$7.50

#### CHINESE SHADOWS

by Simon Leys

A chilling demystification of the shadow play which obscures the true nature of events in China. Leys writes, "We must acknowledge the considerable material improvements in many areas of Chinese life since 1948, but at the same time it is a fantastic imposture to present the regime as socialist and revolutionary when in fact it is essentially totalitarian and feudal-bureaucratic." This is one of the very best books anywhere on contemporary China.

Viking hardcover 220 pp.

Originally \$10.00, now \$3.00

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by Murray Bookchin

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by Ricardo Flores Magon (compiled and introduced by David Poole)

"Ricardo Flores Magon cannot be ignored either in the context of the Mexican Revolution or the world anarchist movement."

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by Stuart Christie

Stuart's autobiography mirrors the turbulent period of the '60's and '70's, and includes his account of his imprisonment for his plot to assassinate Franco, his involvement with the Angry Brigade, and a broad sketch of the English anarchist movement.

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The following pamphlets by Paul Cardan (Cornelius Castoriadis) and others are available in limited quantities.

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Paul Cardan \$5.00

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John Crump \$2.50

#### THE NEW MOVEMENT

Henri Simon \$2.50

## WHERE WE'VE BEEN

Continued from Page One

an entire social system in crisis, that it reflected a problem much greater than itself even though it could be argued as the ultimate and most far-reaching result of that crisis.

The conference in March was extremely successful in nearly every way: hundreds of people attended over the three-day period, many people that we knew and many from all over the city whom we had never met before. Some had been active in the anti-war and counter-cultural movements; others were new to it all. People came in from Toronto and Kitchner, Ontario; Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Lansing and Monroe, Michigan; and one participant even came in from Texas.

Though much of the material presented and discussed was available at any anti-nuclear war conference, such as the medical effects of nuclear attack, descriptions of weapons technology, the first uses of the Bomb, and others, the thrust of every presentation tended to be anti-state, anti-authoritarian, and anti-capitalist. Critiques of technology, the nuclear state, the U.S. empire, daily life and passivity, and revolution were all made and discussed, subjects all missing in nearly every other conference we've heard of. Everyone was energized, new friendships were formed, new contacts were made, and new ideas raised.

Even the party on Saturday night—an anti-nuke skit presented by children, and the antics of Dirty Dog the Clown, followed by general madness and dancing to the music of the Layabouts—seemed to reflect the high quality of the experience we were having. On Sunday, workshops were held to discuss what to do with these critiques in an open, spontaneous and democratic manner which was almost as exciting as the ideas themselves.

On Monday—of course—everyone went back to the daily grind. But we can only suspect that we all went back to the rotten reality of daily life with a renewed sense of our desires and our opposition to the Death Machine.

Out of the week-end came a group of about thirty people which met several times subsequently and which began to set up a cooperative printshop, engaged in anti-draft registration work, formed a study group, and which produced two other one day conferences—one at the Downriver Center of Wayne County Community College, a two-year working class school, and at the Center for Creative Studies, an elite design school. In each case, though some of the discussion was valuable, the attendance was sharply reduced from the original conference and severely lessened our enthusiasm for continuing our road show. We also held a "Die-in" on April 3 at the local farmer's market upon the sounding of the air raid siren tests. (Actually, the weather was inclement and the sirens weren't even sounded!) We had doubts about doing the Die-in, but finally went ahead with it with a sense of play. The Die-in raised several problems with our activities—we were ridiculed by the daily paper ("Protest Bombs"), and we realized that people were not seeing enough of a difference between us and the arms control politicians and the nuclear freeze campaign. It was at this point that we began to discuss the burgeoning anti-nuclear movement in a more fundamental way, and to criticize the



## NO GOVERNMENT

general tendency to be lost in the crowd of reformist arms control proposals, etc.

Part of the problem seemed to be that *everybody* was already opposed to nukes (many of the basic arguments against nuclear war had been appearing in the daily press and on television). Also, most of our efforts to create activity free of politicians and voting probably seemed "ineffectual" to many when compared to the mass acceptance that things like the Nuclear Freeze and Ground Zero were receiving.

Still, we persist. Most of us are off to New York on June 12 (way past by the time you read this) not as one critic put it, to participate in "demeaning spectator-lemming non-events," but to see if some free space can be opened up. None of us will parade robot-like down the official march route, herded to a rally point to listen to a chorus of cretin politicians, priests and trade union officials. Instead, we hope to have

who have critiques and aspirations similar to ours, and who can make the march a joyous celebration rather than the somber protest the anti-nuke politicians intend it to be. Large marches are often intense political and personal experiences if you ignore the official goings-on, and we hope to spend the time passing out this FE, talking to people, arguing for our ideas and overcoming our isolation.

The anti-nuke movement, left to the politicians and the reformers will only be part of the drive toward war. We have no dreams about "intervening" and turning it into a "truly revolutionary movement" but we do want that section of it where we are located to be touched by our presence. We assume no special role for ourselves. We are sure there are numerous others who must feel a similar dissatisfaction with the limited nature of the anti-nuke movement. Hopefully this march will be one arena where we can

## THE NUCLEAR FREEZE

Continued from Page Thirteen

when he called for zero nuclear weapons, but it was Carter who signed Presidential Directive 59 (a counter-force doctrine) into policy, who made open nuclear threats over the Persian Gulf, and who introduced the MX and the cruise missiles. As the political illusion rolls on, the counterforce technology is slowly set in place, the world staggers and lurches along toward war, and the military makes its preparations. (One can imagine Kennedy getting elected on a freeze vote, and instead of the obvious "warmonger" Reagan giving the orders to go to war, the "friend of Peace" Kennedy, just as his brother nearly did in 1962, pushing the button.)

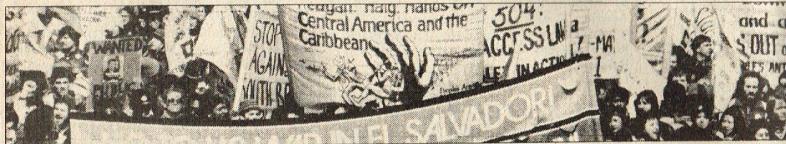
The nuclear freeze petition, like voting, lets the signer off the hook, as if by signing your name and pulling a lever you could disarm the creatures in the White House and the Pentagon, turn off an entire system based on a permanent war economy, end the conflicts which brought about the creation and use of nuclear weapons in the first place. It presents the government as the responsive instrument of the people's will, not as an agency of repression; it promotes the myth of the state as the expression of the democratic aspirations of human freedom and life, rather than their archenemy.

Finally, because it does not look at the causes of war in the clash of empires and in the struggle for hegemony and markets, it fosters the illusion of a "rational defense strategy" and balance of power, of a world at peace made up of capitalist nation states—the very illusions which will be swept away in a period of confrontation and conventional conflict, a mad Falkland Islands adventure over the raw materials and the labor power of some political flashpoint. By refusing to confront the question of war and militarism fundamentally beyond the specific fear of all-out nuclear annihilation, the freeze campaign not only fails to consider how such a conflict would begin, it leaves its supporters totally vulnerable to a crisis which would ultimately involve the decision to escalate to the use of nukes. It is based on the false hope that everything would be alright if we could just do away with nuclear weapons, that we could go on living just as before, safe and secure behind old-fashioned armies and military technology. The nuclear freeze petitions the warmakers and the war profiteers and the professional mass murderers to negotiate with the "enemy," and thus leaves unquestioned all of the myths and the falsifications which conceal the identity of the *real* enemy. Only when people come to the realization that their *own* nation-state is the monster with which they must do battle—not because they are willing to be martyred but because they see the state everywhere and the authoritarian emotional plague which allows it to remain in place as the real problem—only when they are willing to dynamite U.S. interests and the "national security" of the conspirators in the war rooms and the board rooms, when they spit on the American flag and on all flags, when they are willing to act, to create and destroy in their own interest, when their resistance to war flows from desire and from a vision of a truly human world and not from fear—only then will they be ready to chal-

ment in a more fundamental way, and to criticize the direction that our own activities were taking and their

and trade union officials. Instead, we hope to have linked up with numerous other people like ourselves,

# LEFT RITES



In astronomy, "revolution" refers to a return to the same place. For the left it seems to mean about the same. Leftism is literally reactionary. Just as generals prepare to fight the last war, leftists incite the last revolution. They welcome it because they know it failed. They're vanguardists because they're always behind the times. Like all leaders, leftists are least obnoxious when following their following, but in certain crises they step to the fore to make the system work. If the left/right metaphor has any meaning, it can only be that the left is to the left of the same thing the right is to the right of. But what if revolution means stepping *out of line*?

If there were no right, the left would have to invent it—and it often has. (Examples: Calculated hysteria over Nazis and KKK which awards these wimpy slugs the notoriety they need; or lowest-common-denunciation of the Moral Majority, obviating unmannerly attacks on the real sources of moralist tyranny—the family, religion in general, and the work-ethic espoused by leftists and Christians alike.) The right likewise needs the left: its operational definition is always anti-communism, variously decked-out. Thus left and right presuppose and recreate each other.

One bad thing about bad times is that they make opposition too easy, as (for instance) the current economic crisis gets shoehorned into archaic Marxist, populist or syndicalist categories. The left thereby positions itself to fulfill its historic role as reformer of those essential (albeit agonizing) evils which, properly attended to, conceal the system's essential inequities: hierarchy, moralism, bureaucracy, wage-labor, monogamy, government, money. (How can Marxism ever be more than capital's most sophisticated way of thinking about itself?)

Consider the acknowledged epicenter of the current crisis: *work*. Unemployment is a bad thing. But it doesn't follow, outside of right-leftist dogma, that employment is a good thing. The "right to work," arguably an appropriate slogan in 1848, is obsolete in 1982. People don't need work. What we need is satisfaction of subsistence requirements, on the one hand, and opportunities for creative, convivial, educative, diverse, passionate activity on the other. Twenty years ago the Goodman brothers guessed that 5% of the labor then expended would meet minimum survival needs, a figure which must be lower today; obviously entire so-called industries serve nothing but the predatory purposes of commerce and coercion. That's an ample infrastructure to play with in creating a world of freedom, community and pleasure where "production" of use-values is "consumption" of free gratifying activity. Transforming work into play is a project for a proletariat that refuses that condition, not for leftists left with nothing to lead.

Pragmatism, as is obvious from a glance at its works, is a delusive snare. Utopia is sheer common sense. The choice between "full employment" and unemployment—the choice that left and right collaborate to confine us to—is the choice between the Gulag and the gutter. No wonder that after all these years a stifled and suffering populace is weary of the democratic lie. There are less and less people who want to work, even among those who rightly fear unemployment, and more and more people who want to work wonders. By all means let's agitate for handouts, tax cuts, freebies, bread and circuses—why *not* bite the hand that feeds you? The flavor is excellent—but without illusions.

The (sur)national kernel of truth in the mystical Marxist shell is this: the "working class" is the legendary "revolutionary agent": but only if, by not *working*, it abolishes *class*. Perennial "organizers," leftists don't understand that the workers have already been definitively "organized" *by*, and can only be organized *for*—their bosses. "Activism" is idiocy if it enriches and empowers our enemies. Leftism, that parasite for sore I's, dreads the outbreak of a *Wilhelm Reichstag fire* which will consume its parties and unions along with the corporations and armies and churches currently controlled by its ostensible opposite.

Nowadays you have to be odd to get even. Greylife leftism, with its checklists of obligatory antagonisms (to this-ism, that-ism and the other-ism: everything but *leftism*) is devoid of all humor and imagination: hence it can stage only *coup*s, not revolutions, which change lies but not life. But the urge to create is also a destructive urge. One more effort, leftists, if you would be revolutionaries! If you're not revolting against work, you're working against revolt.

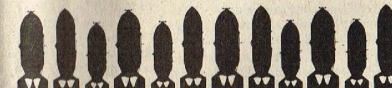
"Left Rites," a text from one of many leaflets by The Last International, 55 Sutter St., No. 487, SF 94104

begin the necessary leap beyond what has come to constitute a totally inadequate response to what faces us.

The nuclear threat is not just one more component of our misery; it is the most gruesome example of how our lives are robbed of their potential; it is emblematic of our utter powerlessness and the state's omnipotence. To take on this issue at its root—the power of a few to distort and destroy our lives, and the powerlessness of the many who continue to reproduce the very system which hurtles ever more rapidly toward total destruction—is to take on every other aspect of this society.

—E.B. Maple and G. Bradford

## ANTI-ANTI-NUKE



The anti-nuclear movement falls far short of what I would like to see happen or become involved in. I was quite excited by the radicality of the Italian movement of 1977-78, which by the way was not in the least preoccupied with nuclear war. Instead, it raised questions of fundamental importance regarding the miserable lives we are forced to lead in capitalist commodity society. To me, a movement that criticizes daily life without ever mentioning nuclear weapons is far more profound than a movement which criticizes nuclear weapons without ever mentioning daily life.

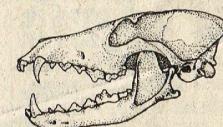
Furthermore, it is not enough to say that nuclear war is an important component of daily life, insofar as we live under the sign of the Bomb and in danger of instantaneous annihilation every day of our lives. Of course, we are all humiliated by this predicament, which is the result of the organization of our lives by the technological complex and which places us at the mercy of processes of such scale and complexity as to be uncontrollable (let alone comprehensible). But finally, it is deficient to speak only of our humiliation by these circumstances, to speak only of the horrible deaths that await us in the nuclear holocaust. It is still a valid question to ask, as did the situationists: if living is impossible, why survive?

This points up the main problem I have with the anti-nuclear war movement. To participate in this movement is to unite around the lowest common denominator—survival. Thus, its nearly universal appeal. To merely express outrage at our subjugation to the death merchants without conveying our desire for a qualitatively superior life is either to rattle our chains or to court the danger of contributing to a statist solution to the nuclear question. It's no accident that "world government" is on the lips of many anti-nuclear politicians.

Some people have called those less preoccupied with nuclear death than themselves sufferers from "psychic numbing," a condition marked by the individual's attempt to forget the imminence of annihilation. But haven't these specialists in nuclear death forgotten something as well, namely that to tolerate the daily round of boring work and empty leisure is itself a form,

lence the nuclear war machine. As Vernon Richards, a participant in the movement against nuclear weapons in Britain during the late '50's and early '60's wrote in 1959, "Only when as individuals we refuse to have someone act for us, will we begin to find the time and learn how to act for ourselves."

—George Bradford



perhaps more insidious, of psychic numbing? It is perhaps the case that psychic numbing, rather than being solely, or even primarily, the effect of nuclear weapons, is the psychological *sine qua non* of a society that portrays its flattened out and anesthetized reality as the best of all possible worlds, or in a more cynical age as all that is possible. It might also be psychic numbing to forget that behind the life-destroying technology of capitalism lurks the distorted social relations that permitted this technology to enter and shape society in the first place; or that the goal of our activity should be to dismantle not just capital's technology but these monstrous social relations which, after all, are at the root of our plight.

What we do by uniting with others specifically around the question of nuclear war is to tailor our activities, our desires, and our language to the limitations imposed on us by the project. We create a politics which merely *reacts* to prior outrages perpetrated by the system, rather than taking our desire for a new life as point of departure. The world is not lacking for militants, for people willing to take whatever measures are necessary to oppose nuclear war. Accordingly, the anti-nuclear war movement does not need us. What the world lacks is a visionary conception of a desirable life, and people willing to act on such a vision. Ultimately, the anti-nuclear movement represents a failure of imagination, a situation in which desire is colonized by the brute "facts" of existence in this society.

I do not dispute the contention that the anti-nuclear movement holds a certain potential, insofar as it is healthy for people to oppose their subjugation to the awesome forces of nuclear war. But I feel certain that unless the participants quickly overcome the limitations represented by their participation in this movement, and begin to contest the totality of life under capitalism, they will remain the captives of a movement contributing to a *political* solution of the nuclear question, rather than a movement which suppresses politics along with weapons by its realization of a qualitatively transformed existence. Which makes our relationship to the anti-nuclear war movement necessarily a critical one.

—Bob Brubaker



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# Fifth estate



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## The Israeli massacre— PEACE IN GALILEE?



Various technical and resource problems delayed publication of this issue of the *FE* (see article elsewhere). Hence, the sweep of events in the Middle East has already rendered some of the focus and information in this article a bit out of date. Atrocity has followed atrocity, and the situation has become even more dangerous and volatile. With the introduction of Reagan's "peace initiative," a scheme which would essentially leave the Palestinians at the mercy of their old nemesis King Hussein of Jordan, Begin and his supporters have proved themselves utterly intransigent by launching plans for further settlement of the West Bank by Zionist settlers. Begin, his face red with excitement, declared before Israeli parliament in a Hitler-like tirade, "The world will witness whose dedication will win... If someone tried to take Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] from us, we will tell him: Judea and Samaria for the Jewish people for all generations."

Since then, Israeli-backed Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel was killed and Israeli troops took West Beirut, nearly setting off an international conflict of unpredictable results by invading the Soviet embassy. Later, with tacit Israeli collusion and approval, right-wing Lebanon militiamen, armed and deployed by the Israelis, attacked two Palestinian refugee camps and slaughtered hundreds of unarmed non-combatants. This latest crime has done more to tarnish the image of Israel than any previous episode of the war, though it should be kept in mind that even this vicious massacre took far fewer lives than the Israeli saturation bombings of Tyre, Sidon and West Beirut. Now the

As these lines are being written, the PLO forces are being evacuated from West Beirut, and the latest phase of Menachem Begin's "divinely inspired" (his words) holocaust in Lebanon is winding down. This unmitigated slaughter, "a beautiful moment... that will be remembered for generations," according to Begin, has left hundreds of thousands homeless, and tens of thousands killed and wounded. The indiscriminate cluster bombing and phosphorus bombing of towns, villages and refugee camps, interspersed by ceasefires which seemed to be called only to allow the Israelis time to reload, belies the hypocritical claims of the Israeli military machine that it attempted to spare civilians in its drive to annihilate the PLO. Rather, it became clear throughout the invasion and the siege of West Beirut, cynically called "Operation Peace in Galilee," that Begin and Sharon were intent upon killing as many Palestinians as possible.

A correspondent reported in the June 21 edition of *Newsweek* magazine, "After the terror bombing and indiscriminate shelling, no one could count the bodies buried in the rubble of Lebanon's coastal cities." Doctor Christopher Giannanou, a Canadian physician who worked for the Palestine Red Cross, described the levelling of the Ain El Helweh refugee camp by Israeli bombs. "It was razed to the ground

those who could attempt to flee. According to John Yemma of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Red Cross workers at the Antillas headquarters north of Beirut said that Palestinians simply were not being allowed to cross the lines." (8/9/82)

At the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in New York, Begin, the Middle East's most notorious terrorist, crowed that his invasion was a war of national defense, "the noblest concept of mankind." And before the Israeli Knesset Foreign and Security Committee, he justified the massive bombings of Lebanon by invoking as a precedent the bombings of Coventry and Dresden during World War II. A letter in the Israeli newspaper *Al Hamishmar* responded that apart from the fact that the bombing of Dresden was protested even before the end of the war, as for the bombing of Coventry, "How does a Jewish Minister dare to rely on such a murderous Nazi precedent? We, who oppose the war and the oppression in the occupied territories, are very careful not to hint at the *growing resemblance* between the acts of Begin, Sharon and Rafal and of what they say, to the worst nations in history, and here *Begin comes and uses their crimes as a precedent* " (cited by Alexander Cockburn in the *Village Voice*, 8/3/82)

Despite the howlings of the Zionist chorus about

Israel, this imperialist bulwark of civilization, took the same form in relation to the indigenous people there that European colonial settler movements had everywhere—in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Americas.

by fire from aircraft, from battleships, tanks and artillery... The hospital was hit five or six times by artillery fire... How many people were left in shelters or buried in the rubble it is impossible to estimate. We felt we were living in an apocalypse. It was a scene of complete devastation. Not a building was left standing... Some areas were so badly hit even nature itself seemed to have been injured." (quoted in the *Village Voice*, 7/13/82)

Alongside the bombardment of the refugee camps and towns of southern Lebanon came a vicious propaganda barrage on the part of Zionists and apologists for Israel who blamed the victims for the slaughter

the gangsterism and terrorism of Palestinian guerrillas and splinter groups (which has dwindled continually over the last few years—seventeen persons died from terrorism-related incidents in Israel last year), the acts of the scattered bands of terrorists could never compete, in all their collective ferocity, with the armed might of the Israeli State, its Armed Forces, its police and security apparatus.

For years we have seen the "reprisals" of the racist Israeli State when an official would be attacked or a paramilitary settlement fired on—usually in the form of bombings of refugee camps, and not in the biblical manner of "an eye for an eye," but more akin to the

vicious massacre took far fewer lives than the Israeli saturation bombings of Tyre, Sidon and West Beirut. Now the United States is reintroducing U.S. Marines, which can only heighten tensions in the region.

The hypocritical tears shed by the U.S. over the "excesses" of its client state should be seen for what they are: a cynical maneuver which seeks to move the Begin government aside now that it has completed its dirty work and re-install the more "reasonable" Zionists of the Israeli Labor Party which have historically been more responsive to their master's bidding. The situation is similar to the Begin/Shamir role in the 1948 war: the irresponsible right-wingers of the Irgun and the Stern Gang commit the atrocities and the terror, are properly chastised by Ben-Gurion, and then move aside so the mainstream politicians, while still wringing their hands at what was done, can assume power untainted by the Deir Yassins and Shatilla-Sabras.

Zionism itself—and all nationalist-statist ideologies of the region—must be fought. The racist and exclusivist nature of Zionism will never allow a genuine internationalist and liberatory Jewish opposition to arise and will only promise more war and destruction and the eventual annihilation of the Israeli people. Pan-Arabism, on the other hand, only serves to enchain the Arab peoples to the reactionary, murderous military and monarchist regimes under which they presently suffer. Only a widespread internationalist perspective shared by Arab and Jew and expressed in social practice—admittedly a remote possibility at this time—can ever bring peace.

# ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE BEIRUT POGROM

Escape from death in a gas chamber or a Pogrom, or incarceration in a concentration camp, may give a thoughtful and capable writer, Solzhenitsyn for example, profound insights into many of the central elements of contemporary existence, but such an experience does not, in itself, make Solzhenitsyn a thinker, a writer, or even a critic of concentration camps; it does not, in itself, confer any special powers. In another person the experience might lie dormant as a potentiality, or remain forever meaningless, or it might contribute to making the person an ogre. In short, the experience is an indelible part of the individual's past but it does not determine his future; the individual is free to choose his future; he is even free to choose to abolish his freedom, in which case he chooses in bad faith and is a *Salaud* (J.P. Sartre's precise philosophical term for a person who makes such a choice).\*

My observations are borrowed from Sartre; I'd like to apply them, not to Solzhenitsyn, but to myself, as a specific individual, and to the American cheerleaders rooting for the State of Israel, as a specific choice.

\* \* \*

\*The usual English translation is "Bastard."

I was one of three small children removed by our elders from a Central European country a month before the Nazis invaded the country and began rounding up Jews. Only part of my extended family left; the rest remained and were all rounded up; of these, all my cousins, aunts and grandparents died in Nazi concentration camps or gas chambers except two uncles, whom I'll mention later.

A month more and I, too, would have been one of those who actually underwent the rationally-planned scientific extermination of human beings, the central experience of so many people in an age of highly developed science and productive forces, but I wouldn't have been able to write about it.

I was one of those who escaped. I spent my childhood among Quechua-speaking people of the Andean highlands, but I didn't learn to speak Quechua and I didn't ask myself why; I spoke to a Quechua in a lan-

guage foreign to both of us, the Conquistador's language. I wasn't aware of myself as a refugee nor of the Quechuas as refugees in their own land; I knew no more about the terrors—the expropriations, persecutions and pogroms, the annihilation of an ancient culture—experienced by their ancestors than I knew about the terrors experienced by mine.

To me the Quechuas were generous, hospitable, guileless, and I thought more of an aunt who respected and liked them than of a relative who cheated them and was contemptuous of them and called them dirty and primitive.

My relative's cheating was my first contact with the double standard, the fleecing of outsiders to enrich insiders, the moral adage that said: It's all right if it's We who do it.

My relative's contempt was my first experience with racism, which gave this relative an affinity with

mainly the eye for an eye, but more akin to the Nazi method of a hundred or two hundred for one. (One example is the shoot-out between Palestinian commandos and West German police in Munich at the 1972 Olympics in which the commandos and eleven hostages were killed. The State of Israel immediately mounted a "reprisal raid" on southern Lebanon which killed three hundred people.)

The invasion wasn't even self defense, in any case. Sharon admitted that he had been planning it from the day he took office and Israel had massed troops along the border for weeks in advance awaiting a pretext to invade. This was at a time when the PLO was most ready to negotiate. But Begin's stubborn refusal

Continued on Page Five

# ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE BEIRUT POGROM

the Pogromists she had fled from; her narrow escape from them did not make her a critic of Pogromists; the experience probably contributed nothing to her personality, not even her identification with the Conquistador, since this was shared by Europeans who did not share my relative's experience of narrowly escaping from a concentration camp. Oppressed European peasants had identified with Conquistadores who carried a more vicious oppression to non-Europeans already before my relative's experience.

My relative did make use of her experience years later, when she chose to be a rooter for the State of Israel, at which time she did not renounce her contempt toward the Quechuas; on the contrary, she then applied her contempt toward people in other parts of the world, people she had never met or been among. But I wasn't concerned with the character of her choice at the time; I was more concerned with the chocolates she brought me.

\* \* \*

In my teens I was brought to America, which was a synonym for New York even to people already in America among the Quechuas; it was a synonym for

Continued on bottom half of Page Two



Armed opponents of the nation state are always called "terrorists": (l.) Jewish prisoners from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising; (c.) U.S. soldiers with bound and blindfolded "suspected VC"; (rt.) Israeli soldiers with bound and blindfolded "suspected" PLO members. Warsaw, Da Nang, Sidon—the crimes of the nation state continue as does the list of its victims.

[In 1947] The United Nations Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP), which had no African or Arab members, recommended by a narrow margin that Palestine be divided into a Jewish and an Arab state. The partition plan granted 55 percent of Palestine to the Jews, who were 30 percent of the population and owned only 6 percent of the land. Some 407,000 Arabs, a number nearly equal to the number of Jews, were to live in the area assigned to the Jewish state. The Arab state was to include ten thousand Jews and 725,000 Arabs in the remaining 45 percent of Palestine.

Palestine was divided on November 29, 1947 by a vote of thirty-three for, thirteen against, and ten abstentions. Only three African and Asian states voted in favor: South Africa, ruled by white European settlers, and Liberia and the Philippines, under pressure from the United States.

As the decision was announced, Arab delegates rose and walked angrily out of the Assembly. The United Nations was dead, one declared. "Not dead," said the Syrian delegate, "murdered." In the next days, Syrian demonstrators attacked the French and American embassies. Fifteen thousand Egyptians poured into the streets of Cairo, fighting the police and stoning the British consulate. Lebanese and Iraqis stormed United States offices. Many Arab people saw the hand of the United States behind the partition plan. A Palestinian leader commented: "We do not recognize Jewish and American illusions about partitioning Palestine. We are fighting an advance guard of America."

#### Clearing the Land of Palestinians: The 1948 War

*I noticed the tears in the eyes of our people. There was a bitter feeling in every heart. Some of the old men were willing to die fighting for our land. But they were without arms.*

—Fouad Yasin, Palestinian radio announcer

On November 29, 1947, the night partition was announced in Palestine, Zionist settlers danced through the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. When some dancers burst into David Ben-Gurion's study, he hurried them away and returned to poring over military maps. The maps showed that over one-half of all Jewish settlers lived in three major cities, while the Palestinian Arabs lived in every city and in Arab villages throughout Palestine.

Ben-Gurion had already ordered a secret mobilization of all soldiers in the Zionist army, the Haganah, and in the Palmach, the assault troops of the Haganah. Earlier in November, four special agents had departed for Europe with three million dollars of credits raised in the United States. Their mission was to buy rifles, machine guns, airplanes and artillery. In the outlying kibbutzim, secret arms factories, built from smuggled materials supplied by American Zionists, turned out small arms. Zionists were negotiating with Czechoslovakia for a larger arms purchase. Ben-Gurion was preparing a military offensive designed to seize much more of Palestine for the Zionist state than the United Nations had assigned to it. He called this offensive "Plan Dalet." It would begin as soon as enough British troops withdrew from Palestine.

For Palestinian Arabs, the threat of war hung heavy in the air the night of partition. No arms were arriving from Europe for the Palestinians. The weapons they

# ZIONISM VICTORIOUS

## 1948: Clearing the land of Palestinians

possessed dated from the 1936 rebellion. In all of Jaffa there were only eight machine guns. The British Emergency Laws, enacted during the 1936 Palestinian rebellion, still condemned to death any Palestinian found with a gun. Two small Palestinian guerrilla groups had continued to train in the hills throughout the Second World War. The only central leadership, the Arab Higher Committee, had been banished ten years ago. Recently re-formed, it no longer had the power to rally Palestinians behind it. The Palestinians faced a Zionist military that was perhaps the best led and best organized of all European settler armies.

In December 1947, the British announced that they would withdraw from Palestine by May 15, 1948. Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa called a general strike against the partition. Fighting broke out in Jerusalem's streets almost immediately. The Zionists were prepared to seize every opportunity to escalate the fighting. A lightning war was their only hope to defeat the Palestinians, who outnumbered the Zionists and lived in all parts of the partitioned country. A lengthy battle could only favor the Palestinians. Violent incidents mushroomed into all-out war.

Palestinians fought in small guerrilla bands, in village militias, or in the ranks of the Arab Liberation Army, a poorly armed force of a thousand Palestinians and three thousand volunteers from other Arab countries. The people of Palestine supported the fighters

as best they could. Women organized groups called "daisy chains" to smuggle arms into the hills, to dig trenches and to organize medical supplies. Casualties were high. By February the Palestinians were out-matched with 25,000 Arabs fighting 50,000 Zionist troops.

#### Plan Dalet

Throughout the winter of 1948 Haganah and Irgun soldiers carried out night raids on Arab villages. The Haganah defined the purpose of these raids as "not to punish but to warn." Soldiers attacked quiet villages that had not been involved in the fighting to demonstrate "the Haganah's long arm." Haganah troops entered a village and silently placed dynamite around the stone houses, drenching the wooden doors and window frames with gasoline. Then, stepping back, they opened fire with their guns. The sleeping inhabitants died in the explosion and fire that destroyed their homes.

Such "warnings" caused some villagers to flee from their homes, but often only to another part of Palestine, not far enough away for the Zionists. The Zionist goal was to "clear the land" of its Arab inhabitants, but Palestinian leaders urged the people to stay and fight. In March Ben-Gurion put Plan Dalet—an all-out attack throughout the whole of Palestine—into effect. At the heart of his strategy was the systematic expulsion of the Palestinian Arab population. As long as

*This article is an excerpt from Our Roots Are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People, by The Peoples Press Palestine Book Project, published by the leftist newspaper The Guardian and is available through the FE Book Service.*



THE SETTLERS' DEFENSE—(l.) Early Zionist settlers formed the Hashomer ("The Watchman") to defend the land from the original inhabitants they had displaced. When the Zionist project became realized in 1948, the informal army of the settlers became the official armed force of the new nation state no different than any other in the world. (rt.)

most Palestinians stayed in Palestine, the Zionists could not win a decisive victory.

The attack began with the use of psychological terror. On March 28, the Zionist Free Radio broadcast this warning in Arabic: "Do you know it is a sacred duty to inoculate yourselves against cholera, typhus and similar diseases, as it is expected that such diseases will break out heavily in April and May among Arabs in the cities?"

Such broadcasts were not directed at Palestinian soldiers. Their purpose was to create fear in villagers, farmers and families in the cities and encourage them to flee. At Deir Yassin, a small Arab village near Jerusalem, psychological terror turned into a full-fledged massacre.

Deir Yassin was a quiet village. Its inhabitants had cooperated with the Jewish Agency and kept Arab troops out of their town. On April 9, Irgun soldiers entered the village and told the residents they had fifteen minutes to abandon their homes. Then the bands of soldiers attacked. In a few hours, the Irgun had murdered two hundred fifty-four people—men, women and children—in cold blood. Over the protests of the Jewish Agency, Jacques de Reynier of the International Red Cross visited Deir Yassin a few days later. He met the soldiers of the Irgun in the process of "cleaning up."

This is what he reported: "I found some bodies cold. Here the 'cleaning up' had been done with machine guns, then hand-grenades. It had been finished off with knives, anyone could see that.... As the [Irgun] gang had not dared to attack me directly, I could continue. I gave orders for the bodies in this house to be loaded on the truck, and went into the next house, and so on. Everywhere, it was the same horrible sight. I found only two more people alive...."

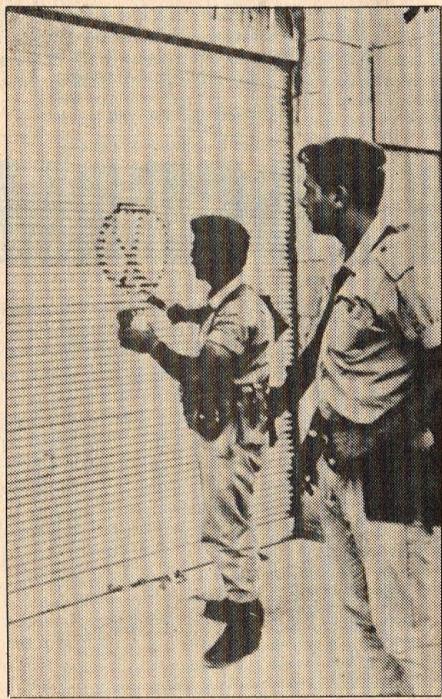
The Irgun took the few survivors to Jerusalem and paraded them through the streets as crowds spit upon them. Although the Jewish Agency piously condemned the massacre at Deir Yassin, the Irgun was admitted to the Joint Command of the military with the Haganah the same day. The actions of the Irgun served the Zionist plan well. The destruction of Deir Yassin, which was skillfully publicized by the Zionists, sparked an exodus of Palestinian families who feared a similar fate. During the joint Irgun-Haganah attack on the Palestinian quarter of Haifa, the news of the massacre which had occurred twelve days before convinced many to flee.

On April 21, 1948, the British commander of Haifa advised the Zionists that he was withdrawing his troops. He did not tell Palestinian leaders. At sundown the Zionists began their attack on Haifa Arabs with Davidka mortars, which hurled sixty pounds of explosives about three hundred yards into the crowded Arab quarter. Barrel bombs, which were casks filled with gasoline and dynamite, rolled down the narrow alleys and crashed, creating an inferno of flames and explosions. Haganah loudspeakers broadcast "Horror recordings" that filled the air with the shrieks and anguished moans of Arab women, interrupted by a booming sorrowful voice that called out in Arabic, "Flee for your lives! The Jews are using poison gas and atomic weapons!" As Palestinians fled their city,

**Continued Top of Page 3**

## ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE BEIRUT POGROM

Continued from Page One



Their predecessors wrote "Juden" on the storefronts of Jewish shops in Nazi Germany. Here, Israeli Soldiers mark Palestinian shops on the West Bank, shut as part of a general strike protesting the occupation, for later retaliation.

much else, as I was very slowly to learn.

Shortly after my arrival in America, the state power of the Central European country of my origin was seized by a well-organized gang of egalitarians who thought they could bring about universal emancipation by occupying State offices and becoming policemen, and the new State of Israel fought its first successful war and turned an indigenous population of Semites into internal refugees like the Quechuas and exiled refugees like the Central European Jews. I should have wondered why the Semitic refugees and the European refugees who claimed to be Semitic, two peoples with so much in common, did not make common cause against common oppressors, but I was far too occupied trying to find my way in America.

From an elementary school friend who was considered a hooligan by my parents, and also from my parents themselves, I slowly learned that America was the place where anyone would want to be, something like Paradise, but a Paradise that remained out

of reach even after one entered America. America was a land of clerks and factory workers, but neither clerical nor factory work were America. My hooligan friend summarized it all very simply: there were suckers and hustlers, and you had to be dumb to become a sucker. My parents were less explicit; they said: Study hard. The implied motivation was: God forbid you should become a clerk or factory worker! Become something other: a professional or a manager. At that time I didn't know these other callings were also Americas, that with every rung reached, Paradise remained as unreachable as before. I didn't know that the professional's or even the clerk's or worker's satisfaction came, not from the fullness of his own life, but from the rejection of his own life, from identification with the great process taking place outside him, the process of unfettered industrial destruction. The results of this process could be watched in movies or newspapers, though not yet on Television, which would soon bring the process into everyone's home; the satisfaction was that of the voyeur, the peeper. At that time I didn't know that this process was the most concrete synonym for America.

Once in America, I had no use for my experience of narrowly escaping a Nazi concentration camp; the experience couldn't help me climb the ladder toward Paradise and might even hinder me; my hurried climb might have been slowed considerably or even stopped altogether if I had tried to empathize with the condition of the labor camp inmate I might have become, for I would have realized what it was that made the prospect of factory work so fearsome: it differed from the other condition in that there were no gas chambers and in that the factory worker spent only his weekdays inside.

I wasn't alone in having no use for my Central European experience. My relatives had no use for it either. During that decade I met one of my two uncles who had actually lived through a Nazi concentration camp. Once in America, even this uncle had no use for his experience; he wanted nothing more than to forget the Pogrom and everything associated with it; he wanted only to climb the rungs of America; he wanted to look and sound and act no differently from other Americans. My parents had exactly the same attitude. I was told that my other uncle had survived the camps and gone to Israel, only to be hit by a car soon after his arrival.

The State of Israel was not interesting to me during that decade, although I heard talk of it. My relatives spoke with a certain pride of the existence of a State with Jewish policemen, a Jewish army, Jewish judges and factory managers, in short a State totally unlike Nazi Germany and just like America. My relatives, whatever their personal situations, identified with the Jewish policemen and not with the policed, with the factory owners and not the Jewish workers, with the Jewish hustlers and not the suckers, an identification which was understandable among people who wanted to forget their close encounter with labor camps. But none of them wanted to go there; they were already in America.

My relatives gave grudgingly to the Zionist cause and were baffled—all except my racist relative—by the unqualified enthusiasm of second to nth generation Americans for a distant State with Jewish policemen and teachers and managers, since these people were already policemen and teachers and managers in

America. My racist relative understood what the enthusiasm was based on: racial solidarity. But I wasn't aware of this at the time. I was not an overbright American high-schooler and I thought racial solidarity was something confined to Nazis, Afrikaners and American Southerners.

I was starting to be familiar with the traits of the Nazis who'd almost captured me: the racism that reduced human beings to their genealogical connections over five or six generations, the crusading nationalism that considered the rest of humanity an obstacle, the *Gleichschaltung* that cut off the individual's freedom to choose, the technological efficiency that made small humans mere fodder for great machines, the bully militarism that pitted walls of tanks against a cavalry and exacted a hundred times the losses it sustained, the official paranoia that pictured the enemy, poorly armed townspeople and villagers, as a nearly omnipotent conspiracy of cosmic scope. But I didn't see that these traits had anything to do with America or Israel.

\* \* \*

It was only during my next decade, as an American college student with a mild interest in history and philosophy, that I began to acquire a smattering of knowledge about Israel and Zionism, not because I was particularly interested in these subjects but because they were included in my readings. I was neither hostile nor friendly; I was indifferent; I still had no use for my experience as a refugee.

But I didn't remain indifferent to Israel or Zionism. This was the decade of Israel's spectacular capture and trial of the Good German Eichmann, and of Israel's spectacular invasion of large parts of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in a six-day *Blitzkrieg*, a decade when Israel was news for everyone, not just for refugees.

I didn't have any unconventional thoughts about the obedient Eichmann except the thought that he couldn't be so exceptional, since I had already met people like him in America. But some of my readings did make me start wondering about my Zionist relative's racism.

I learned that people like the ancient Hebrews, Akkadians, Arabs, Phoenicians and Ethiopians had all come from the land of Shem (the Arabian Peninsula) and had all spoken the language of Shem, which was what made them Semites or Semites. I learned that the Jewish religion had originated among Semites in the ancient Levantine State Judah, the Christian religion among Semites in the ancient Levantine towns Nazareth and Jerusalem, the Mohammedan religion among Semites in the ancient Arabian towns Mecca and Medina, and that for the past 1300 years the region called Palestine had been a sacred place to the Islamic Semites who lived there and in surrounding regions.

I also learned that the religions of European and American Jews, like the religions of European and American Christians, had been elaborated, during almost two millennia, by Europeans and more recently by Americans.

If European and American Jews were Semites in terms of their religion, then European and American Christians were also Semites, a notion that was generally considered absurd.

If Jews were Semites in terms of the language of their Sacred Book, then all European and American Christians were Greeks or Italians, a notion almost as patently absurd.

I started to suspect that my Zionist relative's only connection to the Zion in the Levant was a genealogical connection traced, not over six, but over more than sixty generations. But I had come to consider such racial reckoning a peculiarity of Nazis, Afrikaners and American Southerners.

I was uneasy. I thought surely there was more to it than that; surely those who claimed to descend from the victims of all that racism were not carriers of a racism ten times more thorough.

I knew little of the Zionist Movement, but enough to start being repelled. I knew the Movement had originally had two wings, one of which, the Socialist one, I could understand because I was starting to empathize with victims of oppression, not from insights I gained from my own experience but from books equally accessible to others; the other wing of Zionism was incomprehensible to me.

The egalitarian or Left Zionists, as I then understood them, did not want to be assimilated into the European states that persecuted them, some because they didn't think they ever could be, others because they were repelled by industrializing Europe and America. The Messiah, their Movement, would deliver Israel from exile and guide her to Zion, to something altogether different, to a Paradise without suckers or hustlers. Some of them, even more metaphorically, hoped the Messiah would deliver the oppressed from their oppressors, if not everywhere, then at least in a millennial egalitarian Utopia located in a province of the Ottoman Empire, and they were ready to join with the Islamic residents of Zion against Ottoman, Levantine and British oppressors. They shared this dream with Christian millenarians who had been trying for more than a millennium to found Zion in one or another province of Europe; both had the same roots, but I suspected the left Zionists had inherited their millenarianism from the Christians.

Continued on bottom half of Page Three

# fifth estate

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When the founder of organized zionism, Theodore Herzl, proposed to create a European Jewish state in the Middle East as "an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism," he was acting within a western tradition. It is possible that this tradition has its roots in the rise of the ancient middle eastern civilizations, but it certainly becomes predominant with the rise of capitalism and its expansion first into the heaths of Europe (where "heathens" lived who had to be conquered, christianized and civilized by the developing state powers across the continent) and later to all the continents of the world where these civilized men—explorers, missionaries, marauders, and colonizers—spread their empire.

The enterprise which all of these pyramid builders undertook was and is nothing less than a war upon the wilderness: the conquest of nature and the subjugation of all the "savage" peoples, the proper ordering and quantification of the universe, the victory of production over idleness, the construction of the Perfect State. The attitude of the westerners is always the same, no matter where they find themselves, in the lush forest or the most arid desert. It is all "wasteland" to be subdued, dominated, transformed into energy and commodities. The Jewish colonists—themselves once among the little tribes slated for extermination by the robot mass men of capitalism—once embarked upon the project, embraced all of its attributes. For the zionist settlers, Palestine—in their mythology a "land without people for a people without land"—was the wasteland and the wilderness to be conquered, and the inhabitants would have to submit, go elsewhere or be pushed aside and killed. The dream demanded it, just as it demanded it of the Spaniards, the Puritans, the Afrikaaners.

In a revealing little essay which introduces the book *Masters of the Desert* (1961) by Yaakov Morris, David Ben Gurion reflects the spirit of this civilization in his discussion of the Negev Desert.

"The reclamation of the Negev Desert," he writes, "has more than local interest, vital as that interest may be, to the State of Israel itself. Here, man is faced with a fateful and momentous challenge of nature. To conquer the wastelands, all his will and devotion, labor and energy, time-tested as well as newly invented techniques of science, will have to be employed. The experience so far gained in this battle against aridity, in the search for new sources of water and power, and new techniques of human settlement, not to mention the experiences which will undoubtedly be acquired in the future, give to the Negev a universal value. The Negev, in short, is in many respects a small and modest pilot plant in mankind's over-all battle against the desert regions anywhere."

Not only does Ben Gurion repeat the rhetoric of the early settlers upon this continent, he repeats the formula for his success by drawing a portrait of capital itself: "The contemporary civilization advancing into the Negev embodies many of the characteristics of those which have appeared in the past. It is based as they were upon a combination of agriculture, industry, mining and international trade, the settlement of large units of population, the combination of settlement and defense. The heritage of the past is here being enriched with the conquests of modern science and technology."

But, the project of Israeli capital—successful settlement and economic development—cannot be achieved



woodcut by Antonio Frasconi

## LATIN AMERICAN TERROR: THE ISRAELI CONNECTION

"without the transformation of the facts of nature," he observes. "Science and pioneering will enable us to perform this miracle." All of the elements are present: science and technology, industrialism and trade, urbanism, defense, all summed up in one word: pioneering. Of course the battle of the pioneer against the wilderness is also a struggle against the human fauna which is inevitably present there, and here too, the Israeli model follows the general rule.

Ben Gurion's plan is in operation today—the Negev is being developed at a rapid pace, and a veritable war has been unleashed against its inhabitants, Bedouin tribespeople who have resided there for millennia. In 1977, under the Labor Party government, the Ministry of Agriculture established the Green Patrol ostensibly to protect the desert from the mistreatment it received at the hands of the people who had wandered it for thousands of years. But security is also a major motive of the Israeli government, which has moved Air Force and Army bases into the region.

According to David K. Shipler of the *New York Times*, "The Green Patrol has launched a silent war of attrition against the Bedouins, swooping down on their encampments in jeeps, firing guns into the air to frighten children, shooting their herding dogs, ripping down their tents, trucking their flocks of goats away to slaughter and forcing the tribes off their ancestral lands into closed zones akin to Indian reservations."

Clinton Bailey, an Israeli scholar who studies the Bedouins, told Shipler that some 15,000 of the Negev's 40,000 Bedouins have been resettled on two large tracts of land near Beersheba. Israeli government officials refused to discuss the Green Patrol.

It is not surprising, then, that Israel claims as its allies other reactionary states, such as South Africa, which are engaged in similar crusades against native peoples. One little-known link, however, is the Israeli connection in Latin America. According to a bulletin of the Emergency Response International Network which publishes information and appeals on native and original peoples under attack, Israel is now the third largest supplier of arms to Latin American regimes, behind the U.S. and West Germany. "More than 20 Israeli arms merchants are stationed in Central and South America," they write in the July 9, 1982 bulletin, "or one third of Israel's weapons industry's overseas staff." Customers include El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Haiti, and generate two billion dollars annually.

Israeli aid to Guatemala and El Salvador, countries whose rulers are waging an open war of extermination against Indian and mestizo campesinos, has been particularly extensive. According to the International Institute for the Investigation of Peace, Israel until recently has been the sole provider of weapons to Guatemala since 1976. These weapons include

**Israel is now the third largest arms supplier to Latin American regimes . . . Aid to Guatemala, which is waging an open war of extermination against Indian and mestizo campesinos, has been particularly extensive.**

Arava planes, piloted and maintained by Israeli pilots and technicians; light artillery weapons, including mortars, bazookas and grenade launchers; Galil rifles, for which the U.S. supplied five million cartridges; a tactical communications system; and at the end of 1980, a radar system, installed and controlled by Israeli technicians. According to a recently published four-part booklet on Guatemala edited by Rarihokwats for Four Arrows, *Guatemala! The Horror and the Hope*, Israel also trains the El Salvadoran "ORDEN" death squads on a site in Guatemala.

Israel has also been providing the Guatemalan military with training in political terrorism and counter-insurgency, intelligence and psychological warfare. But by helping the Guatemalan dictatorship to set up a computerized "Regional Telecommunications Center" which is managed by Israeli technicians, the Israeli state has provided the Guatemalan death squads with one of their most formidable weapons. As the Four Arrows booklet explains, "Death lists are drawn up using information from military and police intelligence archives, from trade union files in the Ministry of Labor, and from a businessmen's association which provided names of campesino leaders. All this has now been computerized."

In November of 1981, at the opening of the Army Electronics and Transmission School, General Benedicto Lucas Garcia thanked Israel for its assistance in this advancement made in Guatemalan technology, and Israeli ambassador Moshe Dayan (no relation) replied that "Israel considers Guatemala one of its best friends." Since the late 1960's, twenty to thirty thousand people have been murdered by Guatemalan death squads and military forces, which continue to assassinate approximately a thousand people a month. According to a report published in August by the Detroit *Free Press*, since last April, the Guatemalan Army has burned at least 35 to 50 communities and sent more than 10,000 Indians and campesinos fleeing into Mexico from the border region. A Central American human rights group declared, "Israel continues to denounce the Nazi genocide of the Second World War, and still, 35 years later, chases Nazis all over the world. But it has no shame whatsoever to cooperate in the genocide of Central American campesinos. Now we have the victims of fascism of 1930-45 collaborating with the fascists of 1970-80." (cited by the Four Arrows pamphlet)

But Israel's friendships with Central American dictators date back to its inception. When Menachem Begin was criticized for selling arms to the tottering Somoza government before its collapse, he replied, "We have a debt of gratitude with Somoza." He was referring to an agreement made by the Israeli state in 1948 with Somoza, who for the sum of \$200,000 arranged to have Yehuda Arazi (a member of the zionist clandestine army, the Haganah) named Extraordinary Ambassador of Nicaragua in Europe, where he then could buy up arms in the name of that government which would not have been sold to Israel. Later, Israel repaid its debt by selling arms to the unpopular regime when it was totally isolated in world opinion.

Some may argue that the vision of the zionist settlers to carve a modern technological civilization out of the Levantine desert has little or nothing to do with the monstrous ferocity of the "uncivilized" backwater

Continued on Page Nine

# ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE BEIRUT POGROM

Continued from Page Three

those who made a full-time profession of hunting and murdering indigenous people of this continent always made themselves appear, even in their own eyes, as the victims of manhunts.

The use the Nazis made of the International Jewish Conspiracy is better known: during all the years of atrocities defying belief, the Nazis considered themselves the victimized.

It's as if the experience of being a victim gave exemption from human solidarity, as if it gave special powers, as if it gave a license to kill.

Maybe I shouldn't be surprised, but I can't keep myself from being angry, because such a posture is the posture of a *Salaud*, the posture of one who denies human freedom, who denies that he chooses himself as killer. The experience, whether personally lived or learned from revelations, explains and determines nothing; it is nothing but a phoney alibi.

Melville analyzed the moral integrity of the Indian-hater.

I'm talking about modern Pogromists, and more narrowly about cheerleaders for Pogroms. I'm talking about people who haven't personally killed fifty or five or even one human being.

I'm talking about America, where the quest is to immerse oneself in Paradise while avoiding any contact with its dirty work, where only a minority is still involved in the personal doing of the dirty work, where the vast majority are full-time voyeurs, peepers, professors, call them what you will.

Among the voyeurs, I'm concentrating on the voyeurs of Holocausts and Pogroms. I have to keep referring to what's on the screen because that's what's being watched. But my concern is with the watcher, with one who chooses himself a voyeur, specifically a voyeur of Holocausts, a cheerleader for death squads.

Mention the words Beirut and Pogrom in the same sentence to such a one, and he'll vomit all the morality inside him: he won't vomit much.

The likeliest response you'll get is a moronic chuckle and a cynical laugh.

I'm reminded of my uncle, the one who wasn't hit by a car, who at least had the shred of moral integrity to see what others saw and reject it, and I contrast my uncle with this person who either sees nothing at all, or who cynically affirms what he sees, cynically accepts himself.

If he's an intellectual, a professor, he'll respond with the exact equivalent of the moronic grin or the cynical laugh but with words; he'll bombard you with sophistries, half truths and outright lies which are perfectly transparent to him even as he utters them.

This is not an airy, wide-eyes idealist but a gross, down-to-earth property-oriented materialist with no illusions about what constitutes expropriation of what he calls Real Estate. Yet this real estate man will start telling you that the Levantine Zion is a Jewish Land and he'll point to a two-thousand year old Title.

He calls Hitler a madman for having claimed the Sudetenland was a German land because he totally rejects the rules that would have made it a German land. International peace treaties are included in his rules, violent expropriations are not.

Yet suddenly he pulls out a set of rules which, if he really accepted them, would pulverize the entire edifice of Real Property. If he really accepted such rules, he would be selling plots in Gdansk to Kashubians returning from exile, tracts in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota to Ojibwas reappropriating their homeland, estates in Iran, Iraq and much of Turkey to homeward bound Indian Parsees, and he would even have to lease parts of Zion itself to Chinese descendants of Nestorian Christians, and to many others besides.

Such arguments have more affinity with the moronic chuckle than with the cynical laugh.

The cynical laugh translated into words would say: We (they always say We) We conquered the Primitives, expropriated them and ousted them; the expropriated are still resisting, and in the meantime We have acquired two generations who have no other home but Zion; being Realists, we know we can end the resistance once and for all by exterminating the expropriated.

Such cynicism without a shred of moral integrity might be realistic, but it might also turn out to be what C.W. Mills called Crackpot Realism, because the resistance might survive and spread and it might go on as long as the Irish.

There's yet another response, the response of the cudgel-armed Defense League bully who thinks the absence of a brown shirt makes him unrecognizable.

He clenches his fist or tightens his grip on his club and shouts: Traitor!

This response is the most ominous, for it claims that We are a club to which all are welcome, but the membership of some is mandatory.

In this usage, Traitor does not mean anti-Semite, since it is aimed at people who empathize with the plight of the current Semites. Traitor does not mean Pogromist, since it is aimed at people who still empathize with the victims of the Pogrom. This term is one of the few components of the vocabulary of a racist through the ages; it means: Traitor to the Race.

And here I reach the single element which the new anti-Semite had not yet shared with the old anti-Semite: *Gleichschaltung*, the totalitarian "synchronization" of all political activity and expression. The entire Race must march in step, to the same drumbeat; all are to obey.

The uniqueness of the condemned Eichmann becomes reduced to a difference in holiday ritual.

It seems to me that goons are not preservers of the traditions of a persecuted culture. They're Conversos, but not to the Catholicism of Fernando y Isabela; they're Conversos to the political practice of the Fuehrer.

The long exile is over; the persecuted refugee at long last returns to Zion, but so badly scarred he's unrecognizable, he has completely lost his self; he returns as anti-Semite, as Pogromist, as mass murderer; the ages of exile and suffering are still included in his makeup, but only as self-justifications, and as a repertory of horrors to impose on Primitives and even on Earth herself.

\* \* \*

I think I've now shown that the experience of the Holocaust, whether lived or peeped, does not in itself make an individual a critic of Pogroms, and also that it does not confer special powers or give anyone a license to kill or make someone a mass murderer.

But I haven't even touched the large question that is raised by all this: Can I begin to explain why someone chooses himself a mass murderer?

I think I can begin to answer. At the risk of plagiarizing Sartre's portrait of the old anti-Semite, I can at least try to point to one or two of the elements in the field of choice of the new anti-Semite.

I could start by noticing that the new anti-Semite is not really so different from any other TV-watcher, and that TV-watching is somewhere near the core of the choice (I include newspapers and movies under the abbreviation for "tell-a-vision").

What the watcher sees on the screen are some of the "interesting" deeds, sifted and censored, of the monstrous ensemble in which he plays a trivial but daily role. The central but not often televised activity of this vast ensemble is industrial and clerical labor, forced labor, or just simply labor, the *Arbeit* which *macht frei*.

Solzhenitsyn, in his multi-volumed *Gulag Archipelago*, gave a profound analysis of what such *Arbeit* does to a human individual's outer and inner life; a comparably profound analysis has yet to be made of the administration that "synchronizes" the activity, the training institutions that produce the Eichmanns and Chemists who apply rational means to the perpetration of the irrational ends of their superiors.

I can't summarize Solzhenitsyn's findings; his books have to be read. In a brief space I can only say that the part of life spent in *Arbeit*, the triviality of existence in a commodity market as seller or customer, worker or client, leaves an individual without kinship or community or meaning; it dehumanizes him, evacuates him; it leaves nothing inside but the trivia that make up his outside. He no longer has the centrality, the significance, the self-powers given to all their members by ancient communities that no longer exist. He doesn't even have the phoney centrality given by religions which preserved a memory of the ancient qualities while reconciling people to worlds where those qualities were absent. Even the religions have been evacuated, pared down to empty rituals whose meaning has long been lost.

The gap is always there; it's like hunger: it hurts. Yet nothing seems to fill it.

Ah, but there's something that does fill it, or at least seems to; it may be sawdust and not grated cheese, but it gives the stomach the illusion that it's been fed; it may be a total abdication of self-powers, a self-annihilation, but it creates the illusion of self-fulfillment, of reappropriation of the lost self-powers.

This something is the Told Vision which can be watched on off hours, and preferably all the time.

By choosing himself a Voyeur, the individual can watch everything he no longer is.

All the self-powers he no longer has, it has. And it has even more powers; it has powers no individual

\*\*"Work Liberates": a slogan posted at the entrance to Nazi slave labor camps.

ever had; it has the power to turn deserts into forests and forests into deserts; it has the power to annihilate peoples and cultures who have survived since the beginning of time and to leave no trace that they ever existed; it even has the power to resuscitate the vanished peoples and cultures and endow them with eternal life in the conditioned air of museums.

In case the reader hasn't already guessed, it is the technological ensemble, the industrial process, the Messiah called Progress. It is America.

The individual deprived of meaning chooses to take the final leap into meaninglessness by identifying with the very process that deprives him. He becomes We, the exploited identifying with the exploiter. Henceforth his powers are Our powers, the powers of the ensemble, the powers of the alliance of workers with their own bosses known as the Developed Nation. The powerless individual becomes an essential switch in the all-powerful, all-knowing, all-seeing God, the central computer; he becomes one with the machine.

His immersion becomes an orgy during the crusades against those who are still outside the machine: untouched trees, wolves, Primitives.

During such crusades he becomes one of the last Pioneers; he joins hands across the centuries with the Conquistadores of the southern part and the Pioneers of the northern part of this double continent; he joins hands with Indian-haters and Dis-coverers and Crusaders; he feels America running in his veins at last, the America that was already brewing in the cauldrons of European Alchemists long before Colón (the Converso) reached the Caribs, Raleigh the Algonquians or Cartier the Iroquoians; he gives the coup de grace to his remaining humanity by identifying with the process exterminating culture, nature and humanity.

If I went on I would probably come to results already found by W. Reich in his study of the mass psychology of Fascism. It galls me that a new Fascism should choose to use the experience of the victims of the earlier Fascism among its justifications.

—Freddy Perlman

## CIENFUEGOS PRESS CLOSES: REVIEW TO CONTINUE

Cienfuegos Press, publishers of countless volumes on anarchist and libertarian thought, will be closing their doors. After fighting against economic hard times over the past three years, Stuart Christie, one of the founders of Cienfuegos, recently wrote to subscribers that sales had plummeted 80% and subscriptions down 64%.

However, Christie said they are committed to completing their publication programme for 1982 and have two books in the works at this time. Also, the *Anarchist Review* will continue publication and should be out shortly. Donations for the works in progress will be greatly appreciated (the old address is still good: Cienfuegos, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, Scotland KW17 2BI).

The group that distributes Cienfuegos publications in the U.S. may be contacted at Cienfuegos/Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Minn. MN 55407.

## PEACE IN GALILEE?

Continued from Page 1

to recognize the PLO, his approval of the construction of settlements on the West Bank (in violation of the Camp David Accords), and his harassment and victimization of even the most moderate Palestinian forces in Gaza and on the West Bank, are all ample evidence that Begin and his gang were not in the least interested in negotiation, in autonomy for Palestinians or in peace. Their attitude is summed up by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who emerged from a meeting with U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib to stress, "No arrangement, no agreement, no deal is possible." Meanwhile his troops shelled West Beirut, in their attempt to drive the Palestinians into the sea. The only arrangement acceptable to the Begin-Sharon clique is one in keeping with their goals of military and imperial expansion. The fate of the West Bank, in particular, is tied to events in Lebanon.

Begin's lifelong ambition, as Israeli writer Yael Lotan pointed out in the August 7-14 issue of *The Nation*, has been "to bring all western Palestine (Eretz Israel in Hebrew) under Jewish domination—to achieve which he must break down Palestinian resistance." Part of the strategy in southern Lebanon, apart from the desire to smash the PLO militarily (and therefore, think the Zionists, politically) and to kill a lot of unruly Palestinians, is to hurt the PLO enough so that its influence will diminish in the occupied territories when they are annexed by Israel. The future of the area south of the Litani River (historically coveted by

to Palestine, that the Jewish settlers "treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable inclination." In 1907 the Hebrew journal *Ha Shiloah* wrote, "Unless we want to deceive ourselves deliberately, we have to admit that we have thrown people out of their miserable lodgings and taken away their sustenance." Karl Kautsky noted in 1921 that, "Little more attention was paid to the Arabs than was paid to the Indians in North America."

Through land purchases from absentee landlords, the Jewish settlers forced small farmers and sharecroppers off land that they had inhabited for generations, and justified such usurpations with their "holy book." Such colonization was to continue in an even more brutal form after the 1948 war when the newly formed state employed the Absentee Property Law to dispossess thousands of their land, their shops, and their orchards. Sharon's refusal to compromise, to even admit that his enemy exists, comes from this long tradition of racist colonial violence, reflected in the words of Yoseph Weitz, who was head of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department when he wrote in 1940:

*Between ourselves, it must be clear that there is no room in this country for both peoples... the only solution is Eretz Israel [Greater Israel], at least the Western Israel [west of Jordan River], without Arabs, and there is no other way but to transfer them all—not one village, not one tribe should be left.* (cited by Noam Chomsky in *Peace in the Middle East?*)

At the end of World War I Palestine was nearly 95% Palestinian-Arab. Money from Europe, support from Great Britain, and land purchases and provocations had driven almost 2,000 Palestinian families from the land by 1929. During 1947-48, three-quarters of a



the Israelis) is also in question. The Israelis have said little about their own withdrawal after the exit of the PLO. They will probably hold on to sections of Lebanon while confronting the Syrians in the east. Begin's strategy is in keeping with the original colonialist project of Zionism, reflected in the statement of David Ben-Gurion: "To maintain the status quo will not do.

million people were driven from their homes. (See related article on 1948 War) Of the approximately 400 Jewish settlements established after 1948, some 350 were on Palestinian refugee property. Two-thirds of cultivated land was originally Palestinian-owned. By 1958, a quarter of a million acres of land were expropriated from Palestinians who had remained in Israel.

powerful imperialist nation; the other outgunned, betrayed by all its backers, on the run and desperate. Even the moderate call for a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza which Begin rejects would not be sufficient to resolve this complex problem.

As Noam Chomsky has pointed out, such a state would come to be a kind of bantustan, an exploited reservation for cheap labor under the domination of Israel, Syria and Jordan. In fact, such a Palestinian state would come to resemble the state of Israel—repressive, authoritarian, economically, politically and militarily dependent on the superpowers and in economic rivalry and social confrontation with bordering countries.

The creation of another capitalist state with its own army and its police would be no solution to the present conflict; even though the State of Israel and the proto-state of the PLO may eventually come to terms over such an agreement (though with the fascist Begin clique in power, even that is extremely unlikely).

As the *Bulletin for Jewish-Arab Cooperation* pointed out in 1948, "In a long-range political sense, we can say that the only alternative to a war between nations is not a static peace... but a war between classes, between ruled and ruler, of the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants against the two upper classes, against the fascist parties of both nations, and the British or other outside interests that want to control the area." (cited by Chomsky, pp. 85-6)

Such a possibility is remote, but it exists. This war, which was an attempt like the Falklands/Malvinas adventure to draw attention away from glaring economic problems and growing crisis at home, was protested by a significant section of the Israeli population. A breach is becoming possible, and the opportunity exists for the Palestinians to follow a course of internationalist, libertarian struggle. But the Palestinians will not likely follow this latest wave of violence with such a perspective—they have been too mutilated, and the cycle of bloodshed and war will probably continue.

Despite the cynical claims of Begin and Sharon that their pogrom against the Palestinians improves the prospects for peace, the underlying problem has only been aggravated. The four million Palestinians, whether they are in large military formations in one small geographic area or not, and in spite of the statist illusions of the PLO politicians and their continuous capitulations to murderous, equally pogromist Arab regimes, are a volatile, revolutionary, unassimilable people who pose the question of power and polarize societies wherever they go.

This was true in Jordan and led to their slaughter and expulsion by Hashemite troops in 1970. It was also true in Lebanon, where they contributed to the polarization of the society along class, political, religious and tribal lines and caused the collapse of that fragile and deformed creation of French imperialism. It is also true in Syria, which explains the unwillingness of the Syrians to defend their "Arab brothers" during the latest Israeli invasion and their intervention against the Palestinians and Muslim leftists on the side of the rightist Christian militias during the Lebanon civil war in 1976.

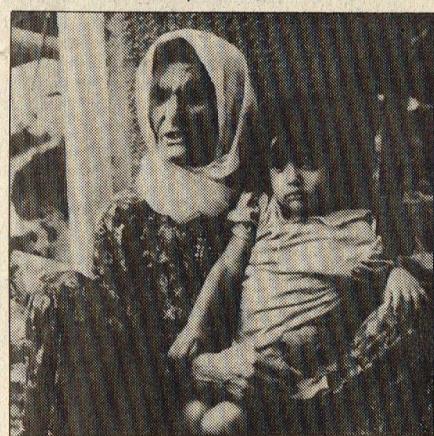
The PLO columns are being evacuated to various countries, and Sharon already brags of defeating them militarily and politically, adding that a peace treaty may soon be signed with Lebanon. Begin declared to a group of American Jews in Jerusalem, "Very soon the

between the superpowers. Israeli troops now face the USSR-backed Syrians in the Bekaa Valley; the ascendancy of the fascist chieftain Bachir Gemayel to the presidency in an election boycotted by Muslims portends future blood feuds and civil war; and now U.S. Marines have gone in against the formal protests of the Soviet Union.

Despite Begin's optimism, the crisis is deepening, pulling more forces and more unpredictable factors into the maelstrom. As one commentator told *Newsweek* magazine, "In a sense, it's really out of control." (6/28/82) The potential for greater conflict is obvious, and brings to mind Israeli writer Uri Avneri's warnings made in 1968. "Nuclear weapons, missiles of all types, are nearing the Semitic scene," he wrote in his book *Israel Without Zionists*. "Their advent is inevitable. If the vicious circle is not broken, and broken soon, it will lead, with the preordained certainty of a Greek tragedy, toward a holocaust that will bury Tel Aviv and Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem."

Somehow this vicious circle must be broken, but it will never be broken by the Zionist state. Nor is it likely to be broken by a defensive, increasingly desperate Palestinian population, led by a militarized racket with statist aspirations. The nationalist and statist solutions being proposed from various quarters would perhaps at best only postpone a wider conflict.

The veteran terrorist, Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, stated that "The PLO and peace are mutually exclusive." But in reality it is the state which is inimical to peace. No one who loves human freedom could ever deny the right of Jews to travel to Palestine and live there out of a centuries-long yearning to return to the sacred places of their ancestral memory and their tradition, any more than one could say, deny Gypsies passage to India to find the origins of their long wanderings. Rather, only in a world with open frontiers and the abolition of the nation state and its border police, a world of free passage without necessity of passport and papers, can national conflict be resolved and human community be established.



"Terrorists."

The desire for one's homeland is not the same as the desire to construct a national state upon the stolen lands of another people. Hence, it is not the recognition of the right to exist of the Zionist state (which the Zionists have demanded and which the PLO has essentially done) which is the key to the resolution of

We have set up a dynamic state bent on expansion."

#### Origins of the Zionist State

This expansionist drive, established upon a racist, nationalist ideology of Jewish "manifest destiny," is not an aberration, as those who lament Begin's squandering of Israel's "moral capital" in his brutal war would have us believe. Despite Labor Zionist and liberal mystifications, this drive lies at the roots of Zionism and the creation of the European colonial settler State of Israel. Zionism is an integral part of the nineteenth century development of reactionary nationalist movements—and its revenge. The Jews, stateless, landless cosmopolitans, the victims of every nationalism in Europe, were themselves to be turned on others as an advance guard of imperialism in the Middle East.

As the Situationists wrote in 1967,

"Since its origins the Zionist movement has been the contrary of the revolutionary solution to what used to be called the *Jewish Question*. A direct product of European capitalism, it did not aim at the overthrow of a society that needed to persecute Jews, but at the creation of a Jewish national entity that would be protected from the antisemitic aberrations of decadent capitalism; it aimed not at the abolition of injustice, but at its transfer. . . . The success of Zionism and its corollary, the creation of the state of Israel, is merely a miserable by-product of the triumph of world counter-revolution. To 'socialism in a single country' came the echo 'justice for a single people' and 'equality in a single kibbutz.' It was with Rothschild capital that the colonization of Palestine was organized and with European surplus-value that the first kibbutzim were set up. The Jews recreated *for themselves* all the fanaticism and segregation of which they had been victims. Those who had suffered mere toleration in their society were to struggle to become *in another country* owners disposing of the right to tolerate others. The prolonged sleep of proletarian internationalism once more brought forth a monster. The basic injustice against the Palestinian Arabs came back to roost with the Jews themselves: the State of the Chosen People was nothing but one more class society in which all the anomalies of the old societies were recreated. . . ." ("Two Local Wars," October 1967)

The career of Theodore Herzl, the founder of the organized world Zionist movement, shows clearly the bourgeois nationalist and colonialist nature of Zionism. Herzl spent his life petitioning the various heads of Europe, including Bismarck, British imperialist architect Cecil Rhodes, the Czar of Russia and his pogromist minister Von Plehve, the Pope and the Turkish Sultan for funds and support to create a Jewish colonial settler state in Palestine. Such a project would serve two fundamental purposes: it would siphon off the revolutionary Jewish masses and create a European outpost in the Middle East, where the Zionist state would "form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism" (Herzl, *A Jewish State*, London, 1896, p. 29)

This imperialist bulwark of civilization took the same form in Palestine in relation to the indigenous people there that such projects did everywhere (South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Americas), fulfilling the definition that Stanley Diamond has given for civilization, which is *conquest abroad and repression at home*. And the colonization process was the same. Ahad Ha'am, a famous Jewish writer, wrote in 1891 on a visit

As Moshe Dayan said later, "There is not a single Jewish settlement that was not established in the place of a former Arab Village." The Zionists "made the desert bloom" by stealing the orchards, the gardens and the pastures from their original owners. This same genocidal, culticidal policy remains in operation today.\*

As the Situationists wrote in 1967, "very soon the fighting will be finished, and then perhaps that famous verse from the Book of Judges will be brought into realization: 'There shall be peace in the land for forty years.'" (New York Times, 8/22/82) But their military "final solution" of the Palestinian problem will not work.

## The desire for one's homeland is not the same as the desire to construct a national state upon the stolen lands of another people. Hence it is not the recognition of the Israeli state which is the key to the resolution of national conflict, but the destruction of all national states.

#### A Palestinian State?

Zionist ideology exploited the genuine and legitimate desires of the Jewish people to escape the cauldron of violence and extermination which was Europe and which led to the annihilation of millions of European Jews. But the horrible irony of the search for security in the creation of a national state on stolen lands was that such a situation was bound to create greater and greater dangers and insecurities with higher stakes at every turn. Not only did Zionism become the blighted mirror image of all the oppressive national state ideologies which immiserated and murdered the Jews; it set the stage for a never-ending insecurity within a garrison state, constantly threatened by the surrounding hostile states which saw it as an incursion into their own "national destinies."

More than this, it created still another wave of victims, its own Jews, landless and stateless people who would threaten its legitimacy as long as they existed and contested it for the lands it claimed. And these new Jews, these Palestinian refugees, dispersed and despised, show no sign of giving up their desires to return to their homeland and their patrimony.

The victory of the Zionist State and the betrayals of the reactionary Arab regimes gave birth to a Palestinian nationalist movement which was the mirror image of the Zionist movement, similar in its nationalist ideology with a socialist tinge, its dependence on various nation states for support, and its methods of military struggle and terrorism. Now two national movements face each other, arms in hand: one powerful, with an army and a police and the backing of the world's most

\*Don Peretz wrote in the September 1969 issue of the Israeli magazine *New Outlook* that as a result of the 1948 war, "Whole Arab cities—such as Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, Ramle, Baysan, and Mada'in—388 towns and villages, and large parts of others, containing nearly a quarter of all buildings standing in Israel during 1948, were taken over by new Jewish immigrants. Ten thousand former Arab shops, businesses and stores were left in Jewish hands as well as some 30,000 acres of groves that supplied at least a quarter of the new state's scarce foreign currency earnings from citrus. Acquisition of this former Palestinian Arab property helped greatly to make the Jewish state economically viable and to speed up the early influx of refugees and immigrants from Europe." Zionist propaganda, on the other hand, has always portrayed Palestine as an uninhabited desert before the arrival of the Jews, for example, the notorious declaration made by the American-born Golda Meir: "It is not as though there was a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

essentially done) which is the key to the resolution of national conflict in Palestine, but the destruction of all national states and the mutual recognition by Israeli Jew and Palestinian Arab of the humanity and the legitimate aspirations of the other.

This means as a fundamental precondition the recognition of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, and the admittedly problematic question of the stolen lands—a question not resolved in monetary, but in human, personal and communitarian terms. A section of the Jewish Labor Movement understood this when they declared in 1924: "The main and most reliable means of strengthening peace and mutual understanding between the Jewish people and the Arab people . . . is the accord, alliance, and joint effort of Jewish and Arab workers in town and country." (cited by Chomsky, p. 38)

Such a perspective seems impossible today—so much blood has been shed, so many crimes committed, so many lasting hatreds sown. And the situation holds little promise for a humane solution to the conflict in the foreseeable future. The Nazis who presently rule in Jerusalem enjoy widespread support for their unyielding, arrogant campaigns. The Palestinians, on the other hand, have been rendered more destitute and desperate than ever and may become even more captive to the most militarist and authoritarian tendencies of the PLO.

But a radical break must be made in which unending national conflicts can be transformed into class war against the capitalist nation states, or the situation will only worsen and spread until the proxies involve the superpowers directly and local wars become global wars. The road ahead is unclear, but somehow the fundamental human problems underlying this festering sore which is the Middle East must be challenged, and the protagonists and victims must find a way to move beyond the fatal cycle of conquest and war. To do any less will be to accept the inevitability of the most dire and tragic of catastrophes.



# FIRST DRAFT FOES CONVICTED

## The Higher Point of View

*Seen from a lower point of view, the Constitution, with all its faults, is very good; the law and the courts are very respectable; even this State and this American government are, in many respects, very admirable, and rare things, to be thankful for, such as a great many have described them; but seen from a point of view a little higher, they are what I have described them; seen from a point higher still, and the highest, who shall say what they are, or that they are worth looking at or thinking of at all?*

—Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience"

On August 17, 1982, conscientious objector Enton Eller was convicted in Virginia of refusing to register for the draft. Nine days later, Benjamin Sasway was convicted of the same offense in California. These two convictions, as well as numerous indictments now being handed down, signal a systematic effort on the part of the government to intimidate young men into registering for the draft and to save the faltering draft registration program.

According to Selective Service System estimates, 675,000 young men have failed to register; another 1,000,000 have changed their addresses since registering without informing the Selective Service of their present whereabouts, and thus also are in violation of the law. Faced with the greatest instance of civil disobedience since Prohibition, the S.S.S. is using selective prosecution of some of the most openly defiant young men to try to reverse the anti-registration trend.

Thus far, the S.S.S. refuses to concede failure. Their position is that the level of compliance, presently "acceptable," will rise to 98% compliance—the level deemed essential to the effective and equitable functioning of the system—once greater educational efforts are undertaken and the effects of the prosecutions take hold.

Maj. Gen. Thomas Turnage, director of the Selective Service System, told the viewers of ABC-TV's August 26, 1982 "Nightline" program that most of the young people who had not registered for the draft were merely ignorant of the law. This was particularly a problem, he stressed, in the inner cities and among non-English speaking communities.

He also said that some young people who had not registered were found to have already volunteered for the military—and thus would not be prosecuted. There is, undoubtedly, a grain of truth in Turnage's statement. But we doubt his confident assertion that everything is under control and that the 98% compliance rate will be achieved sooner or later.

For one thing, Turnage himself told President Reagan's Military Manpower Task Force in April that "We think a few cases will get the word out that we mean business," (quoted in *The Guardian*, September 8, 1982, p. 4). If "ignorance" was the major reason for the low compliance rate, education, not intimidation, would be the likely course of action. But the most important evidence casting doubt on Turnage's

Anti-registration can only be understood in the context of other forms of refusal—e.g. the decline in voting, the refusal of work discipline, the crisis of the educational system, the decline in the legitimacy of major social institutions such as business and the government, etc. Regardless of whether we understand these instances of refusal to be forms of social struggle against capital or merely signs of consumerist narcissism, it's clear that a climate exists in this country in which it is difficult to mobilize people to sacrifice.

(Even Christopher Lasch, one of the leading proponents of the narcissism thesis, observed in *The Culture of Narcissism* that "The 'flight from politics,' as it appears to the managerial and political elite, may signify . . . not a retreat from politics at all but the beginnings of a general political revolt." Curiously, this insight, which appears in the preface to Lasch's book, is never integrated into his social analysis of narcissism, which otherwise characterizes every aspect of social life as a "struggle to maintain psychic equilibrium" in a society of bureaucratic omniscience.)

We do not wish to idealize the resisters or imply that their actions are unambiguously radical. But even those young men who never link their personal act to a larger context of resistance are helping the more overtly political—and vulnerable—young men to avoid being completely swallowed up by the state. Without the knowledge that hundreds of thousands of other draft-age men had also refused to register, principled people like Benjamin Sasway might have found their acts much more difficult to carry out, and the legal and political climate even more hostile than it is now.

The government has downplayed the political significance of the prosecutions, treating them as simple violations of the law, and dismissing as irrelevant—and refusing to allow the defendants to argue—questions of principle and morality. At the same time, in their zeal to make an example of "a few cases" so as to broadcast loud and clear the message that the many violators of the Selective Service Act will be punished, they have tacitly admitted that the prosecutions are fraught with political significance.

A spokesman for the Justice Department was quoted by *The New York Times* as saying that the selection of Eller and Sasway—both principled and articulate—proved the absence of any public relations scheme on the part of the government. In his words, "If we were as subtle as people sometimes give us credit for being, we would pick out some dumb plowboy and indict him."

It seems more likely, however, that the government would prefer to prosecute an Eller or Sasway first, rather than "some dumb plowboy" who might arouse considerable sympathy as an unwitting victim. Furthermore, the prosecution of articulate college students is possibly designed to undercut lingering resentment about the ability of college students to legally avoid the Vietnam-era draft: this time, so goes the message,

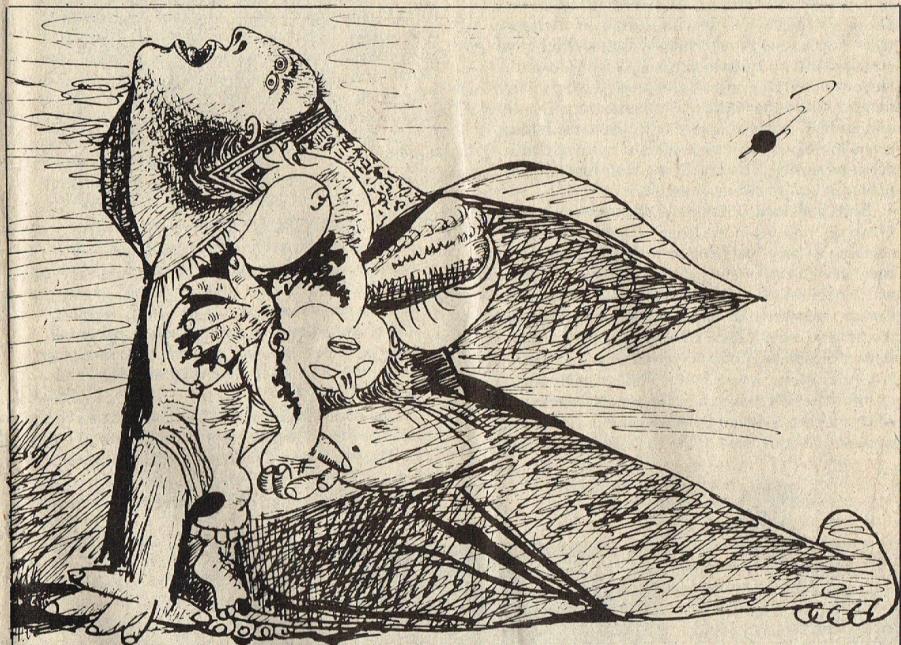
refuse to consent to its policies, or to its continued existence.

There are those who would argue, as against the person who travels on the state's roads but refuses to pay the state highway tax, that we have accepted certain benefits—and corresponding obligations, just by living in this society. We can easily turn this argument on its head: a society that systematically destroys human life and nature across the globe, even to the point of undermining the human carrying capacity of the planet—is an abomination which could not possibly provide real "benefits" to its citizens. Our only

obligation—to ourselves—is to destroy it before it destroys us.

Referring to the Thoreau quote at the head of this article, we consider the government's position on behalf of draft registration a product of the "lower point of view;" and our argument a product of the "point of view a little higher." But in a sane world we shall have reached those vistas "higher still, and the highest," where drafts, armies, wars, governments, and capitalism are but distant memories, hardly "worth looking at or thinking of at all."

—Bob Brubaker



### a note on the prosecutions ...

San Diego, CA—On August 26, 1982, after only 40 minutes of deliberation, a jury returned a verdict finding Benjamin Sasway guilty as charged, of violating the Military Selective Service Act by "knowingly and willfully refusing to register." U.S. District Court Judge Gordon Thompson, Jr. ordered Ben taken into custody immediately, denying him bail, saying that the "defendant would pose a threat to the community as he would very likely continue to advocate a subversion of this country's judicial process . . . which goes directly to the heart of our national interest."

After being indicted on June 30, Ben's lawyers attempted to have his case dismissed on such issues as selective prosecution, failure to allege an offense and the unconstitutionality of the Selective Service registration program, but the Court of Appeals refused to rule on the appeal. After Ben's August 26th conviction, his lawyers once again appealed on his behalf, attempting to get him released on

held outside the jail building on August 29th by about 600 supporters and friends. If you would like to write to support Ben, you may do so by contacting his parents as follows: Joseph and Dolores Sasway, 804 Ora Avo Drive, Vista, CA 92083.

**FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS:** The IRS has sent out 33,000 warning letters to persons suspected of not registering. From those who do not respond within 15 days, the IRS will reveal to the Selective Service System the addresses of 200 persons randomly selected and these names will then be turned over to the Justice Department.

Civil disobedience at the Selective Service System Headquarters in Washington, DC is currently scheduled for Monday, October 18 beginning with a march and an all-day picket and demonstration. For further information, contact: October 18th Resistance Campaign, c/o Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Ave. NW, Washington, DC

summer by the General Accounting Agency, in which it was revealed that while the overall registration rate is 93%, the rate for men turning 18 in 1982 has fallen to 78%. It is highly unlikely that this year's 18 year-olds would be more ignorant of the draft registration laws than their 1980 and 1981 counterparts, now that the law has been in effect for two years.



## ON POLAND AND POWER Co-ordination & Electricity

Thanks again for running my article on Poland, and for E.B. Maple's reply. (See FE, June 19, 1982, "The Collapse in Poland"). Maple seems a little over-anxious for a dispute on the questions raised, in some cases going out of his way to misinterpret what I say, and to ignore parts of the article in which I clearly distinguish the revolutionary movement from the organizations which speak for it, and from the capitalist state which cannot be reformed or seized. Still, there are several points on which we genuinely disagree.

I spoke of power in the primary sense of the word, "the capability of producing an effect, the ability to act," not in the secondary meaning of the word, "control over others." In this sense it should be clear that power doesn't need to be destroyed, but needs instead to be democratically realized. Through a revolutionary movement formerly powerless individuals would collectively achieve power, would achieve the ability to effect and shape their world to answer their own desires. Achieving this collective ability is what I mean by the "seizure of power," and it will require seizing decision-making from the capitalist dynamic and managerial minority now shaping our world.

To achieve this control over our world, people will need control over the material forces which shape their lives-- the production of food, the design of cities, the supply of electricity, the system of transportation, housing, media, the peacefulness of neighboring countries or regions, and so on. As mundane as it may seem, the democratic production and management of food, housing, energy and other factors will be an integral part of our freedom and make

it possible to avoid their obligation to the state.

As for our obligation to the government, we prefer the position of Thoreau, who wrote in his classic essay "Civil Disobedience": "The only obligation I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right." Thoreau stressed that government rests on the consent of the governed; accordingly, we reserve the right to

bail but the Appeals Court ruled against them, upholding the Judge's decision that Ben be put in custody without bail pending sentencing.

The sentencing date was set for October 4, 1982 and until that time, Ben was held at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in San Diego. He was able to signal his appreciation of a candle-light vigil

2008, phone: 202/546-0200.

Our thanks for this information to the Resistance Bulletin which is prepared by the National Resistance Committee, who can be contacted for an update on other indictments by writing: NRC at P.O. Box 42488, San Francisco, CA 94142; phone: 415/524-4778.

are the only power or they are nothing."

If people are to live collectively and democratically, and not as isolated individuals, they will have to create structures for the coordination of their activities. Only full democracy and thoroughgoing participation will prevent these structures from becoming a new State, a power separate from and above all the people of the society. Despite the danger of a new State, co-ordinating structures are a necessary element of the collective realization of freedom.

The anarchist ideology of "power must be destroyed" has too often been the code words for: No coordination of the movement or society, no structure for the movement or society (even a temporary and mutually agreed-on structure), total autonomy of each individual from all other individuals, no control over anything by anybody. This has been the interpretation of anarchism by many self-proclaimed anarchists—in the anti-nuclear movement, for example—and has been a principal cause of anarchism's reputation as an anti-collective and impractical perspective.

One's attitude towards coordinating structures inevitably surfaces in discussions of Solidarity. Where does coordination end and representation begin? Viewed from afar, my intuition is that Solidarity had a dual nature, coordinating and unifying people at the base, but also degenerating into a representative, union structure at the national leadership level.

It had aspects of both a repressive union apparatus and a "human community based on free association." I specifically argued in the article that "the movement (not Solidarity) would have to assume political direction of the country" because I understand the important difference between revolutionary movements and the organizations which speak on their behalf. In practical terms, however, Solidarity involved so much of the population that in many ways it was the movement.

I'm sure most Poles saw it that way. Debates within Solidarity were debates of the movement, and the articulation of positions within the official organization were in many ways the articulation of different trends in the movement. In that light the view of Walesa, Rulewski, Kuron, et al, are important as expressions of different currents within the movement. I would have included views of "the rank and file" if I had access to them. But whether one quotes a Kuron, or an unknown, the process is still one of using a single voice, as a spokesperson, reflecting the views of various segments of the movement. I am not just interested in the number of strikes, or the severity of riots, but also want to hear the articulation of views and theories by the insurgents. This interest in conscious politics, and not just mass sociology ("the daily acts of the unchronicled millions"—Maple), may also be a difference I have with Maple and the Fifth Estate. Your paper at times assumes the contradictory position of being the articulator for the inarticulate, the formulists of the spontaneous event.

I myself am attracted to sweeping denunciations of every type of reform, and to the purity of anonymous, unarticulated, "unrecuperable" acts of violence against the State, and to movements untainted by recognized organizations. But I am more convinced that the revolution leading to libertarian communism will be prefaced by struggles over reform, by the articulation of political positions by "rank and file" people and intellectuals, and by participation in mass organizations which will carry germs of both revolution and recuperation. Our analyses will have to sort through the value of the actual elements of a movement, and will have to draw conclusions regarding the movement's options based on the actual specifics of the situation.

—Rudy Perkins

**E. B. Maple Responds:** Your remarks regarding the nature of power, what constitutes representation, the revolutionary movement, the need for or lack of coordination, and what is salvageable from capital are the meat of a discussion on the content of a modern revolution. I feel at least slightly uncomfortable with each of your formulations, but let me comment only briefly on two points. A view of spontaneous revolution does not imply a lack of coordination, but rather a refusal to be *directed* along already pre-determined routes devised by a party, "leading comrades" or self-appointed spokespersons for the movement. All revolutionary mass activity throughout history has created its own forms of coordination and democracy (many times taking the form of revolutionary workers councils), but a lack of planning in advance for either the revolution or its forms has never seemed to me to be the core of the problem faced by revolutionaries. In fact, excessive concern with coordination (and I don't necessarily attribute this to Rudy) is exactly what produces a formal or informal bureaucracy and is what has stifled so many revolutionary upsurges in the past (such as the role of the CNT in Spain).

As we have said so frequently in the past, the physical plant of capital is what shapes its social relations, so I am decidedly cool to suggestions on how to maintain or, even worse, the necessity of maintaining the machinery capital has produced. I enjoy the benefits of centralized electricity very much, but would under no circumstances, other than having a gun pointed at my head, agree to mine coal in order to generate it. I assume once the coercion of wage labor has been ended, others will feel similarly, and since I would not ask others to do what I would refuse, how then do we get our coal? I would still contend if workers are advocating "democratic" or "socialist" coal production, not much of an advance is being made.

**FE Moves:** It might seem self-indulgent, in the face of mounting worldwide horror, to call what has occurred around the FE the past several months a "crisis," but a more precise word fails to come to mind. In August we were told by our landlord that we had one month in which to vacate the FE office, in order to allow construction workers to tear out the ceiling and undertake renovation of the building.

The condition of the office had deteriorated over the past four months, as work being done on the floors above us caused plaster, dirt, and water to rain down upon our books and equipment. It was becoming obvious that the end was near, and in June we were told informally that eventually we were going to have to move out. Still, this impending situation seemed unreal; after all, the FE had occupied this space since 1970, and it had, in many ways, come to seem like "home."

But the reality of business and landlords soon intruded, and in August we received a 30-day eviction notice. Over the summer, in anticipation of this eventuality, we had made a number of half-hearted efforts to find another space, but nothing we had seen seemed satisfactory. Only in August, with eviction notice in hand, did we make serious efforts in this regard, though still without much luck. Several places had potential, but whenever we talked about one of them, someone raised an objection to it that convinced us not to take it.

As our eviction date drew near, we assured the landlord we had made serious efforts to find a place, but that the logistics of moving were so complicated (including finding a home for our ancient process camera weighing nearly a ton) that the 30-day notice was untenable.

Eviction day came and went, and as we had not vacated the premises, court proceedings were initiated by the landlord. But shortly thereafter, however, the landlord proposed a deal whereby we would grant the construction workers immediate access to the space in exchange for allowing us continued occupancy, with only a modest rent increase, after the renovation is completed. The landlord seemed anxious to make some kind of deal; conceivably, we might have held up construction for as much as 90 days, costing him thousands of dollars. After some haggling, we agreed to let the construction workers in to work, on the condition that they construct a protective wooden box around our camera.

In the meantime, we have moved our office to one

## BOOK REVIEW

Continued from page 10

the CP leaders were in jail and McCarthy period attacks had been successful in breaking up the "Communist-radical" upsurge of the New Deal and wartime years." An obvious omission is the list of reasons why people voluntarily, aside from Cold War pressures, withdrew support from the CP. The Party's general subservience to instructions from the USSR, its Popular Front conservatism, the Moscow Trials, the Soviet pact with Hitler in 1939, the vigorous role of the

*A People's History* concludes with a most provocative chapter, "The Coming Revolt of the Guards," in which Zinn finds that "for the first time in the nation's history, perhaps, both the lower classes and the middle classes, the prisoners and the guards, have become disillusioned with the system" and that this points in the direction of a "general withdrawal of loyalty" from the dominant order. Very briefly sketching what he calls "not a prediction, but a hope," he is not afraid to point in a revolutionary direction from the clearly mounting, massive alienation of our time, which reminds one of Zinn's activist stance over the years

An indispensable work, for its treatment of sexuality and industrialization alone.

6. For example, Sarah Elbert, in her "Good Times on the Cross: A Marxian Review" (*REVIEW OF RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS*), is clearly less concerned with the condition of slaves than with Fogel and Engerman's lack of a "proper historical materialist approach."

7. Norman Ware, *THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 1840-1860: THE REACTION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY TO THE ADVANCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION* (Boston, 1924).

8. Attention to the social and cultural texture of modernizing America is perhaps the signal

(New York, 1936) p. 106; Malcolm Cowley, *THE DREAM OF THE GOLDEN MOUNTAINS: REMEMBERING THE 1930s* (New York, 1980) pp. 104-105, 158.

16. John Zerzan, "Unionization in America," *TELOS* No. 27.

17. Donald Worster, in his review of two books on energy in the December 1981 *JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY* (p. 745), exemplifies a growing attitude of refusal in this area: "Is there something about technology itself that encourages, even requires, a disregarding attitude toward public welfare?.... It may be that dismantling the machines as well as changing the political structure—a Luddite response as well as a populist one—is now

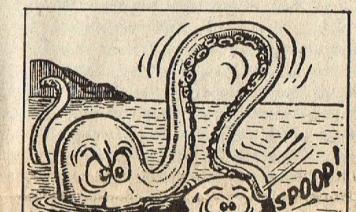
the last having been published in June. Also, please note that we have raised our subscription price to \$5 a year which was necessary due to our ever rising publication costs, including our recent rent hike.

**Subscription Renewals:** Thanks again to all of you who have recently sent us money to renew your subscriptions, and for your continuing donations and support. Please be aware, though, that we are sometimes lax in sending out notices to people whose subscriptions have already expired and if you are also slow in sending back your renewals, you may receive several issues while this exchange takes place. Therefore, the number of issues you have paid for may appear to be used up more quickly than you expected, but rest assured that we send everyone at least the number of issues paid for, and most times they actually get several issues extra. We usually send out two notices of subscription expiration before removing someone from our list, so you will help us save money on postage if you will renew your subs promptly. And keep those letters coming in as we all look forward to hearing from you.

**Dept. of Gloating:** We tried to tell Curtis Sliwa to keep out of Detroit, but the boss of the Guardian Angels was bent on expanding his gang punk vigilante empire to the Motor City. The local chapter is currently in open revolt against the "national leadership" who they charge are publicity hounds, more interested in headline grabbing than patrolling neighborhoods. The disillusioned Angels also complain that the heavy hand of Sliwa comes down hard on those who dare to dissent against his "suggestions," so 23 of the 30 Detroit group have quit to strike out on their own. Not to be undone, uegruppenfuehrer Sliwa ordered in 35 of his toughs from his New York City chapter to fill the diminished Detroit ranks. However, unable to provide the troops with busfare, several of them fell afoul of the Philadelphia police and were arrested for hitchhiking. Pity.

**Insufferable Mistake Dept.:** We seem incapable of printing the correct address of Be Free: Here's our third try: Box 11331, Eugene OR 97440. They will send you their flyers upon request; postage would be appreciated.

and through which most of our daily lives are experienced." Richard Eels, *THE POLITICAL CRISIS OF THE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM* (New York, 1980), p. xx.



Party in 1939, the vigorous role of the Party cadre in policing the World War II strike ban, the crushing of the Hungarian Revolt of 1956 – Zinn mentions none of these things.

The mechanics of McCarthyism, with emphasis on its genesis as a liberal project, is well-handled (even without Alger Hiss), but the '50s are seen only in terms of political repression. Besides Russia, military spending, and fallout shelters, there isn't a word on suburbs, tranquilizers, the persistence of wildcat strikes, the Beat Generation, rock 'n roll, consumption and conformism, etc. Nothing on American character and values as discussed, for example, by the critical yet popular works of David Riesman (*The Lonely Crowd*, 1961), William H. Whyte (*The Organization Man*, 1956), or Vance Packard.

The '60s are portrayed in two chapters, on blacks and Viet Nam; the '70s in "Surprises," evenly divided among women, prisoners and Indians, and in a chapter devoted to Watergate, Carter, CIA excesses and the general decline of political legitimacy.

In a book which catalogs so much active discontent, it is surprising that the *Mayaguez* incident of 1975 is accorded several pages while the farm worker movement is ignored and gay rights and the whole ecology/technology question merit about a page each. And in a time when Martin Jay's dictum as to "our culture's uncanny ability to absorb and diffuse even its most uncompromising opponents" <sup>18</sup> comes to mind with maddening insistence, the absence of any cultural critique is disappointing.

One of Zinn's activist stance over the years. Evidence of erosion of the dominant values is, in fact, legion and yet he is one of the very few to see the real possibilities for liberation which, since the '60s, are opening before us.<sup>19</sup> I find this sense of utopian anticipation a stimulating and fitting end to such a strongly partisan work.

—John Zerzan

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Edward J. Walsh, "A People's History of the United States," BARRON'S, March 24, 1980.

2. Oscar Handlin, "Arawaks," AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Autumn, 1980. Handlin has distinguished himself by such historical revelations as "Boston [in 1845] was a comfortable and well-to-do city in which the people managed to lead contented and healthy lives." From BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS: his most recent work, simultaneous with Zinn's, is LINCOLN AND THE UNION, a pathetic piece of hagiography.

3. The more obvious candidate for emphasis would be Shay's Rebellion, though a less revealing choice given the compelling proximity of that Massachusetts phenomenon to the framing of the Constitution. An example of the near consensus of this relationship—the demonstrated need to "insure domestic tranquility"—is Daniel Boorstin, THE REPUBLIC OF TECHNOLOGY (New York, 1978), p. 54.

4. Increase Mather, A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE DANGER OF APOSTACY, 1679. A fine monograph about a 19th century captive who became a champion of Indian values is Richard Drinnon's WHITE SAVAGE: THE CASE OF JOHN DUNN HUNTER (New York, 1972).

5. Carl Degler, AT ODDS: WOMEN AND THE FAMILY IN AMERICA FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT (New York, 1980).

of modernizing America is perhaps the signal strength of Peter Carroll and David Noble's very valuable THE FREE AND THE UNFREE: A NEW HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (New York, 1977).

9. A significant overview of social history is Rowland Berthoff, AN UNSETTLED PEOPLE: SOCIAL ORDER AND DISORDER IN AMERICAN HISTORY (New York, 1971). The "new cultural history" is ably represented by Daniel Calhoun's look at intelligence as a social relation, THE INTELLIGENCE OF A PEOPLE (Princeton, 1973).

10. Zinn, pp. 217, 218.

11. Zinn, pp. 219, 220.

12. Walter Hugins, JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE WORKING CLASS (Stanford, 1960), p. 46.

13. Philip S. Foner, HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, VOL. 4; THE IWW, 1905-1917 (New York, 1965), p. 168: "On one occasion, a member of the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations suggested that the body might recommend the I.W.W. program to the Congress in order to minimize the industrial unrest." Frank Tannenbaum, THE LABOR MOVEMENT: ITS CONSERVATIVE FUNCTIONS AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES (New York, 1921). Minimizes the distinction between "conservative" and "radical" unions in terms of the basic stabilizing role of unions, and submits the IWW's industrial unionism as effective modern control.

14. Vital is Kenneth T. Jackson, THE KU KLUX KLAN IN THE CITIES, 1915-1930 (New York, 1967) regarding major misconceptions as to the nature of the only nationally important KKK.

15. For example, Edmund Wilson, THE AMERICAN JITTERS (New York, 1932) p. 169; Sherwood Anderson, PUZZLED AMERICA

called for."

18. Martin Jay, THE DIALECTICAL IMAGINATION (Boston, 1973) p. xiii.

19. One (pro-capital) observer sees a life-or-death crisis of capitalism, reflecting "the decline of the private social and economic institutions on which our value system is built



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## Notes From The Cesspool

It's said that the mark of good actors and actresses is their ability to portray characters that are completely unlike themselves. Taking that into consideration, it seems to me that Jane Fonda is the perfect example of a good actress, even though many people may carry with them the popular view that she's really quite a stinker. Recently, I saw this crusader of social causes in a very interesting film that depicted the senseless horrors and personal tragedies of war. The film was *Coming Home*, and not only did it show the shattered lives of the Vietnamese and Americans who found themselves killing each other in the fields of Vietnam, but the racist war propagandists and empty morals of corporate America.

Fonda portrayed a woman who, through the turmoil of the 60's and the Vietnam War, makes a 180 degree turn not only in relationship to herself and others, but also in her views towards the war: she becomes dead against it. But the irony is that the everyday Jane Fonda has made a 180 degree swing in the opposite direction. Today she is the cheer-leading wife of the lowest form of politician and supports the indiscriminate murder of defenseless men, women and children. It may be hard to believe that this one-time defender of the Vietnamese in their war with the U.S. (Jane as you may remember, visited North Viet-

nam to show her solidarity in their fight—I wonder if she was acting?), and ardent anti-nuke protestor could have blood stained hands, but last July the gloves came off and the truth came through.

The July 4, 1982 (Independence Day) issue of the *Detroit Free Press*, carried a syndicated photo of Jane handing out flowers in an Israeli military hospital. The caption read in part: "Actress Jane Fonda gives roses to a wounded Israeli soldier in Tel Aviv . . ." Jane was part of a bevy of U.S. entertainers who were asked by the Israeli Association for the Welfare of Soldiers, to go to the Middle-East and "boost morale during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon." As we all know, soldiers sometimes start thinking twice about what they're doing after they've seen so many people slaughtered and so many of their friends killed; it was Jane's job to let the soldiers know that there's a *just* cause and not to feel bad about shooting that little kid or old lady in Lebanon.

Her husband, that snake-in-the-grass politician Tom Hayden, who was also in Israel, and I'm sure, well aware that election time is just around the corner, stated that the Palestinians had no one to blame but themselves for this latest invasion, since they refused to recognize Israel's

"right" to occupy Palestine. I wonder if this modern, liberated couple is going to write to the surviving relatives of the over 1,000 people who were massacred in the Sabra and Shatilla "refugee camps," and tell them that it was they who killed themselves?

After her stint in Israel, Jane Fonda rushed back to the U.S. to take on yet another "morale boosting" tour; this one put together by her legal representatives. She's touring the states to promote her new book on aerobic exercise, attempting to make aging middle-class women (many former radicals of the 60's), look like teenagers again, while real teenagers were having phosphorus bombs dropped on their heads by Israeli war planes.

A final note, though. I often wonder what are the real reasons driving Tom and Jane to be at the forefront of the anti-nuclear movement? Perhaps it's to sell books or maybe buy a government seat? It's all guessing at this point, but one thing I do know, the last time Tom Hayden ran for political office in California, he supported the U.S. government's building of the B-1 bomber, because it would bring *jobs* to his state. I wonder if they build cluster bombs in California?

—Larry Talbott

# Letters to the Fifth Estate

## Being Definite

Dear FE:

With only 12 shopping days left 'til nuclear war, I thought I'd better get some bucks off to you to renew the old sub. Thanks a million, or should I say thanks \$4 bucks? Whatever, the FE is always welcome on my doorstep.

I like the new big format. Makes me feel like I'm really reading something and it holds more kitty litter. No, seriously, the paper is greatly appreciated for its sane thoughts in a world long gone mad. Keep up the excellent work.

The anti-nuke article "Why We Didn't Sign Your Petition" was terrific. First it was "Ban the Bomb," now we just want to Freeze, eh? We're taking two steps back for every one forward! Progress.

And needless to say the "Murder on Seal Island" Malvinas/Falklands hoax was the only serious viewpoint around. Although I did enjoy the TV coverage more. They were much more humorous.

Larry Montgomery  
San Francisco CA

*FE Note: Thanks, Larry, for your appreciation of our content and our form. Several others aren't quite as happy with our format change and have even likened it to the dailies. We changed from the tabloid size for several reasons: 1) it is considerably easier to prepare and lay-out 16 large pages than it would have been for 32 of the old style; 2) we actually gain considerable copy space in switching format; and 3) we like it.*

*Also, thanks for recognizing our definite article. That is, over the years, mostly due to logo design, we have slipped from being "The Fifth Estate" to the plain of "Fifth Estate." In fact, the Post Office demanded that we cease using the definite article in our subscription box, because it did not appear on our covers.*

*Being saddled with a totally meaningless moniker all these years is punishment enough without bits of it being chipped*

A report recently on television news, indicated that the fear of nuclear destruction and its seeming inevitability has had a negative effect on stock investments (sigh). It's hard to gauge, but undoubtedly a large number of the disaffected in the present generation of rebels were disenfranchised at an early age by the fact that they were the first to grow up under the shadow of the bomb.

Could it be that the plague was an early warning by nature (spirits, demons, process or whatever) to give up this tendency, this aberration—civilization? How ironic that something as small as a virus could be so destructive, and more so, that it finds its ancestor is yet more minuscule and more virulent, the atom. Both of these demonic forces are but symptoms of the systematic break with natural laws that moderate the patterns of existence.

What most people forget when considering the so-called primitive life is that we have it backwards—it is civilized "man" that is the primitive. Knowing how to operate a machine, shop for clothes and food, etc., are things that even the most "backward savage" can adapt to, hence, the success in conquering small, un-unified tribes. It is far more difficult to "go back." The average "primitive" must know how to provide food, shelter, medicine, navigation, etc.; a myriad of things that we have done for us by specialists, each of whom relies on other specialists to account for the sphere out of "his" acumen.

I would say, therefore, that the myth of progress is such a lie as to truly represent its opposite. We are getting more

stupid all of the time and getting better at being stupid. Indeed, we need people to teach us how to be spiritual, even, in some cases, how to fuck! How stupid.

I suppose we got lucky with the Black Death—maybe not so lucky this next time. The problem is, can we wise up before it happens? Idiots are in charge and the average person is getting more idiotic all of the time. Let's do, as Solis suggests, make our own culture, our own education, our own everything... may the spirits give us strength to be animals.

No Name,  
Ambassador of the  
Animal Kingdom

## Practical Commies?

Dear Commies,

Alright, you fiends! Your despicable rag gets my blood pressure so high I can't even sleep at night. You're going to pay—I mean, I'm going to pay you for this! Please enter my subscription beginning with the current issue.

Why don't you give some space to practical methods of F.T.ing the S.? With so many people out of work, I think it would be helpful to pool knowledge on beating the high costs of utilities, parking tickets, etc. If this is outside of the scope of the 5th, I'd be interested in putting together some other medium to spread this info or even talking with other people who have found ways to get over on the powers that be.

Peter Schneider

## A Compliment & Two Complaints on Style

Dear Fifth Estate,

I just finished reading my first copy of your paper and I'm really impressed. I want to congratulate you on a very thought provoking and interesting production.

I want to make two minor complaints about the style of some of the pieces you included in the June 19th issue. A friend who is a journalist looked at the front page and threw it down in disgust. She had been hooked by the headline on the nuclear freeze article, and read the whole front page section without being able to find out why you didn't sign! I agreed with her that it took a heap of reading to reach the important points made in the piece.

The second is in relation to the Anti-Work exchange. It seemed to me after two readings that Zerzan's original article was primarily a mass of evidence which was open to several different interpretations. Unfortunately, he didn't make his preference among these known. Thus,

complicated and perhaps not a matter of simple causation.

Dugan takes the existence of 4 billion human beings as a given fact which then requires that we continue to develop technology or at least preserve the levels we have reached. I would quarrel with his assumption that our technology does allow us to support 4 billion. Many of these are presently starving and dying due primarily to the social/economic system which controls the technology of today. If a truly liberated society emerges in the near future, it is likely that they will find it necessary to reduce the standards of living of many in the industrialized nations to help save those in the other "worlds" of development. Vast changes will be necessary to meet the legitimate needs of 4 billion in a way that the present system doesn't even try to do.

The letter by Dugan also seems to imply that technological advances will be necessary to preserve the population levels. *Food First* by Collins and Lapine suggests

# Readers dispute FE on Nuclear Freeze issue

Dear Fifth Estate,

Thank you for your criticisms of the Freeze campaign. I agree wholeheartedly that the Freeze is not enough. The Freeze is just a first step, it is a talking point. Whatever its limitations, it has engaged the interest of millions of people in the subject of nuclear terror, and it has helped people start to think about the issue.

I don't know anyone in the Freeze campaign in Michigan who believes the Freeze is anything more than a first step. We are under no illusions about the political process. And it is hardly a case of passively letting others act for us.

Of course, politicians have jumped on the bandwagon. They always do. But, at least in Michigan, none have been allowed to speak for us, or at our rallies or meetings. The Freeze is not in anyone's pocket. (Damning by association is hardly a worthwhile method of criticism, by the way.)

Your assertion that the Freeze will actually accelerate the chances of war is curious. You know about first-strike weaponry. Would you have us wait until everyone's consciousness is sufficiently raised to demand disarmament (complete and unilateral)? By then the planet will be gone. We can't afford the luxury of waiting. There must be a freeze before the first-strike weapons are built.

It is an impossibility that nuclear weapons will be abolished and we will live as we did in the past with old-fashioned military power structures. In order to get rid of nuclear weapons, everything would have to change. Even a Freeze would mean profound changes. How, in your analysis, could the military-industrial complex survive a Freeze with its power base intact?

The Freeze is what's mobilizing people today. I notice you, too, have jumped on the bandwagon of the growing concern about nuclear war, and now devote much space and even conferences to the issue. What do you think is responsible for this concern, which brings 750,000 people to New York when a year ago you couldn't get three people at a party to talk about nuclear war?

Nuclear war is indeed the clearest threat to survival; it is the ultimate instrument of destruction, and it dwarfs all other concerns, rightly so. Any and all methods that oppose nuclear war, that seek to move toward the goal of disar-

million. And if things do not change, we will be 500-million." Just as your "die-in" at Eastern Market in Detroit was a symptom/expression of your concern, so New York was an expression of concern on the part of 500-800,000 people. While your activity may have made the CIA, the FBI and the Security Policemen take note, I do not think your demonstration (as good as it was) worried them one-thousandth as much as New York.

If you think that the Freeze is static, if you think that the Freeze is merely political, then I would be ashamed of you. To deny human political nature is to deny humanity. This is not to say that a human-bean is all political. But the political is a reflection of and an expression of that human's persona. The thing that will change the politics is a change in the underlying; the political is a reflection of the person's attitude. Just laws would reflect a just society. Eventually, a society would grow up enough so that it would not need laws or guides; but we are a long way away from that. Ho hum. You know this. You also know that if you study the teachings of Jesus in the synoptic gospels they provide a code of ethics that is akin to the anarchistic belief system in its individualistic-encouraging approach. But it also goes beyond by offering a way of compassion and humanistic interaction that makes the world a much better place.

In summation, all I am saying is: whoever sits on hands and sour-grapes will not change things; whoever seizes opportunities for education and (self-expression) no matter the form, makes a better place for little kids, for flowers and for growing people.

Love,  
Michael Gramlich  
Highland Park MI

## Weak As Usual

Dear Fifth Estate,

Your articles against the nuclear freeze campaign were excellent theoretical criticism, as usual, but weak on practical application, as usual. Even Michael Harrington has pointed out the freeze's inadequacy (*Democratic Left*, May 1982); the difference is that he's trying to bring his arguments to people in the mainstream of U.S. political life, an attempt you would denigrate as hopelessly compromised.

enough without bits of it being chipped away by government bureaucracy and common usage.

## Can't Support FE

Dear Friends:

If you guys can't support the Nuclear Weapons Freeze, I can. I'm taking the money I'd give to you self-serving elitist anarchists and giving it to them.

Now I can smile at you when I see you in the bars; I won't be supporting you. The newspaper is beyond the level of the masses and your personal bickering with the RCP, CP, etc. are boring, and only excelled by the fools you criticize.

I remain,  
James Fasza

## But They Can

Dear Fifth Estate,

Enclosed is \$40 towards your efforts. This money was raised at an anarchist picnic held in Berkeley (CA) on July 11. Those present were bay area anarchists and some of the Italian comrades. Our support and best wishes.

In Solidarity,  
The Anarchist Picnic  
Berkeley, CA

(Raised \$149.85 total)

## Who Is Primitive?

To the Fifth Estate,

"Dismantling the Nuclear Society" (FE June 19, 1982) was so pervasive and encompassing it seems almost to have written itself. I would like to make a few observations in conjunction with it, as they seem to belong in its logical spheres.

Primitive Solis says that there is nothing we can compare this bomb fear to. I find many similarities, however, in the Black Plague which swept most of the world in the 14th Century. In Barbara Tuchman's *A Distant Mirror* is described the hideous death that killed one-third to one-half of the occidental world. It got so bad that people even gave up burying the dead or hauling them off the streets. Parents would abandon their children or vice versa when either was infected. Farming, trades, other occupations would be abandoned and the majority of people thought that surely the world was coming to an end. Indeed, some cities, when an outbreak would start, would wall up the few houses and bury the living, sick and dead together and, of course, that didn't save them either.

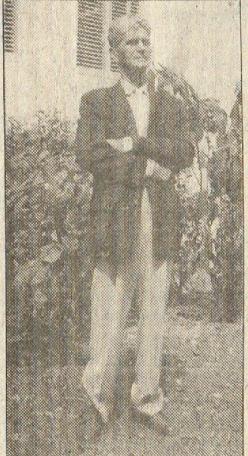
preference among these known. Thus, when Luke offered his analysis, Zerzan and Brubaker jumped all over him, in a manner somewhat unfair. Another case of good intentions but poor construction of the article. I didn't know until reading the rejoinders to the response what Zerzan had intended to say either.

I was very interested in the exchange between the FE and Chris Dugan of LEAF on technology (See FE June 19, 1982). I would like to throw in my 20 cents worth, too.

Dugan seems to imply that population pressure was the cause of technology. He ascribes the increases in productive capacity to the need to provide for an expanding population. I feel that he has the cart before the horse. While the increase in technological complexity does make larger populations possible, it is obviously the result of a series of other factors. The potential for expanding population exists in every species and at every point in human history. It was not inevitable that humankind developed technology to the extent that we have; but Dugan's argument implies this. Rather, the actual history of technological advances is much more com-

**E.B. Maple responds:** *Thanks for your appreciation of our efforts. As to complaints from journalists, our usual response is to throw them down in disgust! That doesn't stop us from agreeing that articles should be well organized and concise, nor from admitting that often those in the FE are not. We, of course, try our best for readability, but not on the terms of professional journalists—those standards produce People magazine and a language capable of only discussing the vapid. An abiding interest in ideas is hardly deterred by poor organization, lengthy articles or "big" words. Usually, we have found that among those who say that they "can't understand" the FE are those who actually would have no interest in what we are saying no matter how we were to say it since what really is at issue is their political disagreement with what is being said.*

### ATANAS POREZOFF (1890-1982)



Atanas Porezoff was, as were so many revolutionaries of his generation, host to many names: Atanas Vidloff, Tony Bulgar, even affectionately "The Old Man." But to those of us who knew him only in his later years, he was just Tony. Once towards the end of his life, when we visited him in the hospital, he smiled at the nurse and said, "See, I don't need medicine, these people are my medicine." And he would remind us at the end of each visit to remember the message contained in the works of his "great teachers, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoy." His customary call of "Viva la anarchia" as we left after visiting will stay with us always. Tony lived a long and full life, yet we cannot mask our sadness for a departed friend and comrade.

We dedicate this issue to Tony's memory and to his spirit of opposition and libertarian revolution. To maintain one's principles to the very end is to die a free human being.

—The FE Staff and Friends of Atanas Porezoff

July 10, 1890—September 8, 1982

necessary to preserve the population levels. *Food First* by Collins and Lappe suggests that a reduction in the amount of technologically intensive agriculture could lead to an increase in the number of people fed by any given piece of land. All that is necessary is to return the land to the people who have traditionally farmed it so that they may supply their own food again. In this way the famine caused by the appropriation of farmland for industrial and cash cropping by the industrial world and its agents will end.

Finally, some population scientists suggest that high birth rates are a natural adaptation to marginal living conditions. They point out that many animal and insect populations which face the highest rates of death among their young therefore produce the highest number of young to ensure that a minimum survive to carry on the species. Human population may respond in this way as well. By alleviating the poverty and oppression caused by the present system, we may reduce the population by removing the fear that 3 of 5 infants will not survive.

Allan Malkis  
Minneapolis

methods that oppose nuclear war, that seek to move toward the goal of disarmament, are necessary. The more people involved in this, the better.

If we can take all the steps at once, if we can take the steps faster, let's do it. Show me how. Show me how it works not in theory, not in print, but in practice, in the world. Then I'll be ready to forgo the first step, which is a Freeze. Absent that convincing, I'll continue to work for a freeze, because if we don't get a Freeze, we won't long have the luxury of these kinds of interchanges.

Michael Betzold

## Freeze Is A Process

Dear Fifth Estate,

You know that I love you people for your crusty-prickly (no sexual or sexist pun intended) individualistic-intellectualism. And while I may not always agree (even when not disagreeing) with what you have to say, I will defend with my life (within reason) your right to say things and will pledge to my utmost to keep Reagan and Company from dropping the bombs/Bombs on your heads.

Being "in the head" can be fun, so I will lay out three analogies: that of the infant, that of the toddler, and that of the rattlesnake. An infant is, from the very beginning, a social being: dependent on others for survival. And, if parents weren't to a large extent socialized, they might, if the infant is an inconvenience, walk off and leave it. It is only when the infant reaches the stage where it is an adult and capable (somewhat) of taking care of itself that it can afford the luxury of saying that cooperation is poppy/mommy-cock.

The Nuclear Freeze Movement (a process, not a "thing") can be compared to a toddler; first steps into action for many people who signed the petition. Not everyone in this world is ready to "storm the barricades" or to persuade others to do so. I've been in the "Anti-Nuke Protest Bizz" since 1959: it took 7 years for me to move from the terrifying first-hand view of the hellish weapon in action (Frenchman's Flats, 1952) to a very "antsy" participation with "what must be real life commies" in a Hiroshima Day observance. At least people are looking at these things and are moving. Can you imagine 800,000 in New York? People from mid-America, too, who got off their butts and onto their bunions. Glory be. I trust that all you people were in Nueva York to show Mr. Ray-gun that you "cared enough to send your very best."

Then there is the analogy of the rattlesnake. As Rep. Elizabeth Holzman said in New York, "We are 500,000 today. And if things do not change, we will be 5

would denigrate as hopelessly compromised.

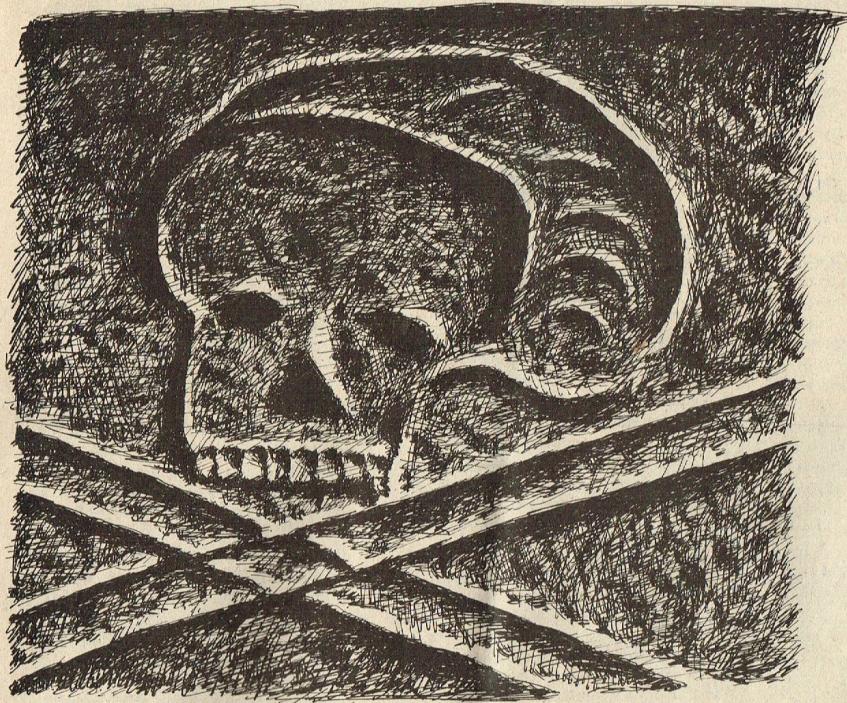
By your own admission, you yourselves don't seem to be able to break out of the swamp of stereotyped leftist and pacifist activity that you despise so much. You have done what everyone else has—hold a "die-in," sponsor a symposium and publish critiques of everyone else's work. The Grinning Duck symposium (Note: held March 5-7, 1982; see FE June 19, 1982) I admit, sounds like a step in the right direction, but can you sustain it? (You can't even keep up a regular publishing schedule.) Once people have gotten the idea of contesting the rule of capital and the state wherever they find it, what are they to do besides engage in a lot of fragmentary small-group community activities? How can they link up both issues and projects to form a movement that can really confront the power structure, instead of just make noise about it?

Even a movement as large as the German disarmament movement can't go much beyond its narrow range of issues without forming something like a political party (the Greens and the Alternative List) to serve as a nerve center for coalition efforts and to gain a measure of influence on the mainstream political process. Without that kind of political presence, the most they can do is march and riot. The state has demonstrated that it can tolerate a hell of a lot of marching and rioting; what it can't tolerate is a cohesive political movement. Insurrections like May 1968 in France are wonderful, but without a coherent movement and a broad support base they don't sustain themselves.

Your continuing practice of exhorting people to comprehensive libertarian revolutionism, without either proposing strategy and tactics or doing much yourselves besides criticizing others' halting attempts, ends up looking as moralistic as Christianity. Worse than that, it looks like an elaborate justification for non-involvement. It's easy to be critical when you don't sully your hands in the problems of creating a movement. You sometimes seem to just want to set yourselves up in a pontifical position where, when the worst happens, you can smugly say, "we told you so" as you watch the flash over downtown Detroit.

Love anyway,  
Chris Nielsen  
Portland, OR

"Why We Didn't Sign Your Petition: The Nuclear Freeze" appeared in the June 19, 1982 Fifth Estate. The discussion on technology has appeared in the FE of July 1981, Nov. 1981 and June 19, 1982. Check bookstore page for information on ordering back issues.



## War without end

### A response on the Freeze

George Bradford responds:

On one point we all seem to be in agreement: the campaign for a nuclear freeze is not enough. So, I find it perplexing that rather than considering its inadequacies as a basis for investigating ways of moving rapidly beyond it (since we also apparently agree that time is very limited), our critics reiterate all of its conventional arguments. None of the specifics of our analysis are discussed. Instead, the Freeze is presented as the embodiment of the movement against nuclear weapons and war, rather than a single *tactical* approach among many possible ways to create an opposition.

Betzold claims that "the freeze is what is mobilizing people," and both he and Gramlich credit the Freeze for the large turn-out in New York on June 12. I think that it is presumptuous to claim that the Freeze mobilized all those people. It would be more accurate to say that the Freeze has ridden a crest of growing concern and opposition to nuclearism and to war, and that it has inherited at least as many of its supporters from this rising awareness of the threat of nuclear war as it has itself actually mobilized.

A widespread mistrust in politicians, the government and technology has begun to surface, and the Freeze has gained many adherents from that phenomenon, but it cannot take credit for it. This is, in my opinion, an important distinction, since it keeps the concern about the nuclear threat from becoming the property

The whole notion of bilateralism is as old as arms control, and has proved as effective in preventing war. It avoids the underlying question of militarism and war, and maintains a status quo in which each captive population is left behind its leaders who bargain with the enemy. Such a perspective encourages illusions about the politicians' desire for peace and disarmament.

Treaty after treaty—from the Hague Conference of 1907, to the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, to the League of Nations Disarmament Conference of 1932, to the negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union after World War II, has proved to be worth less than the paper it was written on. The freeze proponents who argue that a freeze will at least pressure the government to negotiate in good faith (as many have done) are only promoting such fantasies of arms control.

As Theodore Draper recently observed, "Negotiations are not the answer. They invariably hinge on establishing some form of parity. In this world, no one is going to negotiate himself into inferiority or out of superiority. Once different weapons and even different weapons systems must be evaluated and balanced off against each other, negotiations inevitably degenerate into endlessly futile haggling sessions, brought to a close only by agreement on a crazy quilt of trade-offs and loopholes. Negotiations of this sort become

the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament to even come up with a ritual gesture towards peace shows that none of the major military powers has any intention of giving up one weapon. (For a report on the Special Session, see Susan Jaffe's article, "Why the Special Session Flopped," in *The Nation*, 9/14/82.)

The Freeze does not even touch on the question of national security, does not begin to challenge the legitimacy of the American empire. And, damnation by association or not, the freeze campaign uses as a source material the Kennedy-Hatfield book *Freezel*, in which the editors argue that "some of the savings from a freeze can be reallocated to improve the readiness and the reliability of our conventional forces." This kind of argument is not an aberration, but a key argument among arms control and freeze proponents, that a freeze represents an *alternative* way of defending U.S. security and national interest.

By concentrating on the outcome of all-out nuclear war and avoiding the question of conventional forces, the rapid deployment forces, the draft, U.S. intervention abroad, and the causes of militarism and war, the freeze contributes to the mystification and thereby paves the way to war. In a real war crisis, such as an intervention in Latin America, or an attack on Syria (which was actually seriously proposed by staff members of the National Security Council during the spring of 1981), or a widening of the Iran-Iraq War, or any number of unforeseen possibilities, the Freeze movement (and much of what we saw in New York) would evaporate in a matter of days.

The Freezers, by ignoring U.S. intervention and military bases around the world, by their complicit silence on the war in Lebanon, and rather by concentrating instead on hypothetical nuclear attacks on Dayton, Ohio or Tulsa, Oklahoma, give the impression of chasing after a "dummy missile." It is sort of an ultimate bomb shelter fad, which won't do anything to prevent a war from taking place, but which will only lull people to sleep, renew their trust in politicians like Kennedy and others who sell themselves as peace candidates, and in farcical arms control negotiations, as well as bolster an already collapsing legitimacy by registering people to vote. No war has ever been stopped by a referendum. If it could be done, voting would be outlawed. War is a fundamentally undemocratic phenomenon.

This is why, given the present circumstances, Betzold is right when he argues that "Even a Freeze would mean profound changes," and why there will be no freeze, not even if the politicians presently advocating it are elected to office, unless it puts U.S. military power at an advantage. It is not a question of politicians, but of an entire system. And a "talking point" which does not talk to people about the nature of that system and the real causes of war is doing nothing to prepare anyone to prevent war from breaking out. "We are under no illusions about the political process," claims Betzold, but the nuclear freeze campaign does everything to foster such illusions in the people that it is attempting to reach.

All of the correspondents, but particularly Betzold and Nielsen, make a false dichotomy between theory (represented by the Fifth Estate's criticisms of the nuclear freeze campaign) and practical action (embodied in various reformist campaigns, the nuclear freeze, the activities of Michael Harrington, etc.). Betzold pleads, "Show me how it works, not in theory, not in print, but in practice, in the world." And Nielsen sees in coalition campaigns a coherence which can neither exist in "theoretical" criticism nor

Hence, this is clearly not the time for opportunistic *Realpolitik*, and not the time for what is viewed as "feasible" within the power apparatus, within the system-conformist brain of the megamachine. Left to itself, this structure is incapable of producing anything but its own program for catastrophe."

The world political and military situation is getting deadlier and more volatile every day. Several wars are going on at once, and could easily explode into larger conflicts. As even an analyst in *Newsweek* magazine realized in late June, "If the world can't put out its brush fires, more Falklands and Lebanons will flare. And if nobody stops the smaller wars, who on earth will prevent another big one?" (6/28/82)

Of course, the United States is already at war, in Central America specifically. But whether one wishes to describe this period as one in which we are at war (as Nixon has) or as a "pre-war" period, as Presidential Adviser Eugene Rostow has declared, very little seems to stand in the way of this country actually sending troops or naval ships into a conflict and eventually getting drawn into an all-out confrontation from which there will be no return.

In 1914, there was widespread opposition to war, but when marching orders came down, it all but vanished. As Marc Ferro noted in his introduction to his book on World War I, *The Great War*, some "unanswered questions" remain about that period. "What were people's aspirations before the war?" he asks. How did those people who opposed war suddenly find themselves without the means to resist it?" I think that for us these questions remain largely unanswered. But I sense that we are running short on time, and we are going to have to take some qualitative leaps in the next period or we are going to be left behind by events.

The lesson to be learned from the Falklands/Malvinas war is that a war is fought to divert a crisis in the legitimacy of the rule of capital and its institutions. Or, as John Zerzan pointed out in relation to 1914, "The scale and conditions of the war had to be equal to the force straining against society..." (See "Origins and Meaning of World War I," *Telos* No. 49, Fall 1981) This society faces a legitimacy crisis of great dimensions today—its economy is collapsing and its institutions are in disarray. We can either contribute—in a large way or a small way, whatever our resources—to that deepening crisis of legitimacy and participate in the development of a vision of opposition to this society, or we can serve to shore up its institutions and its ideology.

Without the emergence of a conscious resistance to war linked to a resistance to capitalist institutions, the rage and the disaffection we see everywhere today will be channeled into support for military adventure, as it was in Argentina and Britain. Therefore, opposition to war must go beyond the boundaries of the alternatives presented to it by arms control, the concern for "national security," and the initiatives of politicians to devise "alternative military strategies" to defend the interests of the capitalist nation state.

A massive opposition must emerge, but in order to really stop war, it must move past the realm of politics and go to where the "first strike" has already taken place, in the war-zone of everyday life, in the factories, offices and schools, in the unemployment lines and welfare lines, where that society which makes war and which thrives on war is reproduced by its victims. Unless the war is stopped there, no arms control proposal will save us.

an important distinction, since it keeps the concern about the nuclear threat from becoming the property of any single "arms control" organization or proposal.

Defenders of the Freeze, in the face of criticism, argue perennially that it is only a "first step," in Betzold's words, "a talking point." But it seems that the Freeze spends most of its time convincing people that it is not a "radical" proposal, that it does not undermine "America's strength"—in other words, that it will not threaten the underlying myths and assumptions of the American state and capitalist society. What good does it do to have a clean-cut, sanitized "talking point" if only the epiphenomena are discussed and not the causes and motivations for U.S. foreign and military policy?

That the Freeze Campaign has educated many people about nuclear weaponry and war and that it enjoys a sweeping popularity is undeniable. But how profound has that education been and how strong is the commitment? There have been many polls, for example, showing massive support for a bilateral freeze, but that support drops significantly when a freeze is linked to the possibility of a weakening of U.S. nuclear "security." Even the New York demonstration, which I attended, had an air of unreality about it, gave the sense of being a mile wide and an inch deep in its opposition to militarism.

The papers that day were splattered with news of mopping-up operations in the Falklands, Begin's invasion of Lebanon, and more violence and terror by U.S. proxies in Central America. In the wake of the New York march, and the obvious impotence of peace movements to stop the outbreak of war, the Detroit *Free Press* editorialized, "Camp David is dead. The United Nations is irrelevant... the crowd in Central Park cries peace. There is plainly no peace and not much security now..." (6/15/82).

Such was the experience of the British disarmament movement when Argentina invaded the Falklands. The CND was sent into a tailspin, and many of the Labor Party politicians who had paid lip service to the peace movement wrapped themselves in the Union Jack and fell into line with Thatcher. That confrontation could have easily become nuclear, and yet the peace movement was incapable of creating a significant opposition to it. Freeze activists in the U.S. need to take a long, hard look at this problem, but most do not. The Freeze continues to surrender to the ideological pillars of U.S. imperial power: national security, bilateralism, arms control negotiations, and electoral politics. I made these observations already in my original article. But perhaps it would be wise to summarize the main points. First of all, it is necessary to see the nuclear freeze for what it is, an arms control proposal among many. It is not even a very profound proposal since it leaves intact the notion of a *bilateral* freeze, and with it the ideology of national security and of deterrence, which has brought us to the crisis we are in today.

As the German writer Walter Suss has pointed out in an article on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (translated and printed in the Spring 1982 *Telos*, a special issue on European peace movements and the Polish crisis, available through the FE), "... the slogan of bilateral disarmament over the last three decades provided the mystifying ideology behind which armament was carried out. The elastic clause of bilateralism privileges the 'experts,' who generally represent interests contrary to those of the peace movement."

to a close only by agreement on a crazy quilt of trade-offs and loopholes. Negotiations of this sort become more important for the mere consolation that the deadly antagonists are negotiating than for anything the negotiations may bring forth." ("How Not to Think About Nuclear War," *New York Review of Books*, 7/17/82) He mentions the Kellogg-Briand Pact as an example of the worthlessness of treaty negotiations. "In 1928... sixty-two nations signed a pact outlawing war. Its enforcement was supposed to rest on the moral strength of world opinion. It was signed, celebrated and forgotten."

Alva Myrdal, writing of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. in 1946 in *The Game of Disarmament*, reveals the pattern set then in arms negotiation: "Both sides would present proposals for disarmament agreements, of often wholesale dimensions, but would be careful to see to it that these would contain conditions which the opposite side could not accept." In fact, since the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union have met more than 6,000 times to discuss arms control without dismantling a single weapon. And the dismal failure of

And Nielsen sees in coalition campaigns a coherence which can neither exist in "theoretical" criticism nor in insurrections.

I cannot help but suspect that when Betzold refers to "the world," he is referring to the world... of electoral politics, of business-as-usual, of all the same old knee-jerk responses to the threat facing us all, whereas Nielsen's conception of "coherence" is the coherence of this world and all its presuppositions, the same political cycle of reformist betrayal and political and social defeat. I consider the activities of the FE, and of the anti-nuke war conference we participated in, to be practical activity, just as the activities they defend have an unstated theoretical basis—that by presenting a watered-down program palatable to all but the most reactionary forces, they can eventually lead people to radical conclusions somewhere down the road. For people who claim that there is so little time, this seems a rather roundabout approach, not to mention a trifle manipulative.

(An example—now that the nuclear freeze referendum has won in the state of Wisconsin, what will happen now? Not in theory, not on paper, but in the world? Once the message is sent to Reagan that the people of Wisconsin want a freeze, what will they do, wait for the other forty-nine states to pass a freeze? Will they await marching orders from the Freeze campaign organizers? Will they begin to occupy the military installations and the war materiel industries once they have lost their illusions about the political process? Or will they vote in "peace candidates," or pass another referendum next year which is more (or less) radical than the first? What is their next step? I am genuinely curious.)

The same desperation that drives self-described radicals and anarchists to become runners for reformist political campaigns which in no way challenge the ideological edifice of this society, inspires us to raise the criticisms that we raise. I think that people are ready to hear more fundamental critiques than the Freeze activists offer. They had better be, or they won't have a chance of keeping out of a war and eventually getting obliterated. But whereas taking part in the activities presented by this society as "practical," "coherent," and "realistic," is considered practice in the world," the criticisms and doubts of a small group also just at a "talking point" is written off as "theoretical" and "sitting on one's hands." I for one refuse to be blackmailed by this dichotomy.

Perhaps Nielsen is right, and we won't be able to sustain our activities. After all, our numbers are very small and our perspective is very uncommon. But whether or not we can sustain our critique and our practice, and whether or not we can widen it and extend it, to link our projects and our desires with those of others "to form a movement that can really confront the power structure, instead of just make noise about it" (Nielsen), has no bearing on the importance and the practicality of what we are saying. And we would have a much greater chance of sustaining a radical vision and concretizing it if the many radicals who have been recruited to the Freeze would stop settling for "first steps" and start investigating the possibilities of next steps and start talking about what they desire and not what they think is simply possible within the given terrain.

As Rudolf Bahro and Michael Vester pointed out (in the same *Telos* symposium cited above), "When all proceeds without interruption, World War III will erupt.

**I WANT**

**TO SURVIVE**

**Vote YES on**  
**Nuclear Weapons**  
**Freeze Proposition**  
**in November**

**DETROIT AREA**  
**NUCLEAR WEAPONS**  
**FREEZE CAMPAIGN**



Names: Chr., Wayne State U.  
PO Box 2257, Detroit, MI 48202  
Telephone: (313) 577-5033

A placard distributed recently at a nuclear freeze rally in Detroit. Participants were invited to fill in the space in the middle with the names of people and things which they would like to save from nuclear destruction. Some things which would survive a nuclear freeze intact: Rapid Deployment Forces, SWAT teams, NSA/CIA/FBI/KGB and all other secret police agencies, the entire nuclear arsenal presently in place, chemical-biological weapons, cluster bombs, corporations, assembly lines, freeways, chemical waste dumps, noise, meaninglessness, dependency, passivity, domination, and more. Take your pick....

## LATIN AMERICAN TERROR: THE ISRAELI CONNECTION

Continued from Page Four

satrapies of Central America. After all, nation states grow older and more pragmatic, and in a world dominated by production and exchange, business is business. But there is a direct link between the idealistic rhetoric of Ben Gurion and the gratuitous crimes of the modern Caligulas. There is an intimate relationship between the slogans of civilization, its thirst for new sources of power, its search for the most advanced techniques of science, and the beheadings, the babes bayoneted in their mothers' arms, the burning villages, the mass graves, and the "interrogations." The slogans whitewash the actual crimes with the logic of historical necessity, the scientific methods pinpoint the enemies with increasing efficiency and tally the headcounts more rapidly, and the pioneering spirit strengthens the resolve to continue when even the original purpose seems absurd in the face of interminable massacres.

The methods, once considered to be an unfortunate interlude in humanity's advance, have become the aim and the final identity of civilization. The project is the same everywhere: the conquest of empires, the domination of nature, and the slaughter of indigenous peoples and creatures. And because civilization is a levelling and obliteration of all diversity, the victims all begin to look the same, as do the perpetrators. The heaps of bloated bodies could be at Wounded Knee, or in Huehuetenango, or My Lai, or at Shatilla and Sabra, or Babii Yar. The victims are "savages," or "orientals," or "subhumans," or simply "refugees." And scientific progress has not resolved this agony, it has not furnished the promised synthesis. It has perfected the terror, rationalized the procedures of the Green Patrols.

Civilization is a bloody sword, but someone must wield it, even as others sit in warm houses before well-laden tables listening to music and mouthing its platitudes. Its agents are the colonists and the conquerors, the technicians and the mercenaries, the death squads unleashed with money from Washington and electronic equipment from Tel Aviv, and marching orders from some Sharon, or Reagan, or Rios Montt: Kill them all, there is no difference between villager and "terrorist," even the children are the Enemy. Destroy this forest and these people. You were once one of them, but now you have a uniform, you are the New Man.

Ben Gurion said in his essay, "If the State does not put an end to the desert, the desert is liable to put an end to the State." But this State devours itself. Its desperation portends its approaching collapse. Can the wilderness prevail?

—P. Solis

*(Guatemala! The Horror and the Hope* is produced by Four Arrows, a communications group of indigenous people of the U.S., Canada, Mexico and Guatemala, and is available for \$6.00 from P.O. Box 3233, York PA 17402. The Emergency Response International Network can be contacted c/o *Akwesasne Notes*, Mohawk Nation, Via Roosevelt, NY 13683. Information on Guatemala can be obtained from the Guatemala National Information Bureau, P.O. Box 4126, Berkeley CA 94704, or NISGUA, 930 F. Street N.W., Suite 720, Washington DC 20004.)

Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, Harper & Row, New York, 1980, 600 pages plus index.

Howard Zinn is a "radical revolutionary," whose *People's History* is aptly named given its kinship with the various "People's Republics." In fact, this "wild" book was conceived as a means of slaking Zinn's "thirst for notoriety in the pecking order of the radical left," as well as for the enrichment of himself and Harper & Row. So saith the reviewer for *Barron's*, the financiers' weekly.

Not to be outdone was Harvard's Oscar Handlin, ranting in the *American Scholar*.<sup>2</sup> "Talk of liberty and country Zinn considers a rhetorical device to conceal rule by the rich few," in Handlin's outraged estimation. "The deranged quality of his fairy tale," cannot be a total surprise, he added judiciously, "Since Zinn does not comprehend the simple meaning of words."

Of course, these comments demonstrate only that the book in question has achieved such a wide popularity as to arouse the emotions of this pair of reactionaries. And also that it has just about nothing to do with what they would consider to be the serious business of American history, namely, our political and cultural pluralism, economic abundance, and endless upward social mobility and contentment.

At the very end of the book (which lacks preface or introduction), Zinn tells us what by that time we must have already figured out: his *History* is "disrespectful of governments and respectful of people's movements of resistance," and seeks to represent the "submerged, deflected, common interest" of the 99% who have been subject to "all the controls of power and punishment, enticements and concessions, diversions and decoys" of the 1% in power.

Beginning with the murderous conduct of Columbus toward the Arawaks in his quest for gold and slaves, Zinn moves quickly on through the early colonial period, pausing to focus on Bacon's Rebellion of 1676,<sup>3</sup> the Virginia leveller rising that was both anti-aristocratic and anti-Indian, which united black slaves and white servants.

ly and others, were a major social protest, albeit one often ignored by historians. Which makes it the sadder that Zinn does not mention it, despite the surge of published works on the subject since 1970—presumably influenced by the contemporary commune revival.

In the 1950s the writings of Kenneth Stamp and Stanley Elkins provided the dominant view of black history, namely, that it was so harsh as to reduce blacks to docile, servile Sambos who possessed no autonomous family life or culture. Since the 1960s, Eugene Genovese, George Rawick, Herbert Gutman, John Blassingame, and others have effectively destroyed the slave-as-Sambo stereotype, producing much evidence that, despite the horror that was chattel slavery, a family stability and cultural integrity was maintained. Zinn makes use of much of the recent critical scholarship and certainly conveys effectively the rigors and resistance involved in his very strong "Slavery without Submission."

One omission, however, is any reference to the huge mid-'70s fracas occasioned by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman's *Time on the Cross* (1974). The controversy, which quickly overran the confines of academe, centered on their contention, purportedly demonstrated by quantification analysis of economic data, that slaves were very productive workers with a high standard of living compared to Northern wage-laborers, and that slavery was viable, profitable political economy which utilized some very modern industrial relations practices of subjugation.

It is beyond the scope of this review to delineate and discuss the arguments, the main lines of which are discernible merely via summarizing Fogel and Engerman's thesis. The Marxists, it may be noted, seemed to boil over the most, apparently—though this was not always revealed—due to the damage *Time on the Cross* offers to the historical schema of an inevitably failing slavery giving way to the more progressive industrial capitalism, with its modern worker advanced beyond crude slave exploitation.<sup>6</sup>

No one has yet come forth to do for

Returning to the specifics of a *People's History*, one finds a persistent use of first-hand/participant accounts, which often provide unique insights as well as a compelling feel for the events recounted. Sometimes, however, the reader is confronted with what amounts to little more than lists of dramatic strikes and riots, which lack continuity or analysis.

On one page the fact that episodes of insurrection "have gone unrecorded in traditional histories" is noted, and on the next, that (during the 1830s) "trade unions were forming."<sup>10</sup> The relation of unions to the general disappearance of insurgency, a pregnant topic, is not addressed. On the very next two pages is a brief account of the 1837 Flour Riot in New York, which took place following a protest of high prices by the Equal Rights Party (locofocos).<sup>11</sup> A causal connection is strongly implied, but the narrative perhaps should have noted that not one of the 53 rioters arrested was a member of the Equal Rights Party,<sup>12</sup> which might have been used to shed light on reform politics vis-a-vis anti-commodity violence.

Following a lucid treatment of the "Robber Baron" era, the Great Explosion of 1877, Haymarket, and the Populist movements of the 1880s and '90s, with special attention to the double exploitation of blacks and women, Zinn proceeds to explore the nature of Progressive era reform, as the necessary self-regulation of the new corporate order. Here he skillfully draws on such disparate historians as Gabriel Kolko, Robert Wiebe, James Weinstein, and Richard Hofstadter in a strong and cogent section, which also dissects the usually neglected but important National Civic Federation.

Twice as much space (25 pages) is devoted to the Industrial Workers of the World, an exciting panorama emphasizing the romantic and heroically militant side of the IWW. A deeper treatment might have raised questions about the integrative nature of even the IWW (qua unionism),<sup>13</sup> e.g., its industrial union structure, support of Taylorism.

"War Is the Health of the State" is a very adequate if brief chapter on World War I, but not without one or two minor errors. The number of casualties in the first Battle of the Marne is set far too high at 500,000 for each side, and Jack London, who died in 1916, is cited as a Socialist who became prowar after U.S. entry in 1917.

Zinn covers two of the major post-war strikes, that of Seattle and steel, noting that both were throttled by the unions, while ignoring the 1919 coal strike. The several months' walk-out of 400,000 miners was the third major strike, also betrayed by its union.



## News & Reviews

### North American anarchist/libertarian news and publications:

Issue No. 14 of *Open Road* is now out. This issue was made possible thanks to the generous response to the OR's financial appeal. They welcome additional support, of course. The OR now costs \$1.00 per issue. The current issue includes an interesting article by John P. Clark, "Anarchism and the World Crisis," articles on pornography, the democracy movement in China, punk rock, the Amsterdam riots, and more.

The Spring 1982 issue of *Soil of Liberty*, put out by North Country anarchists and anarcha-feminists, is now available from *Soil of Liberty*, P.O. Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407. The current issue includes an interview with Sam and Esther Dolgoff, a talk on the Cold War by Noam Chomsky, commentary on Spain, and more.

Various nihilistic flyers and posters have been received from *Anomie*, P.O. Box 40256, San Francisco, CA 94140. Life on the edge of human history....

An interesting and well-produced poster on the suppression of the Polish workers' movement entitled *Order*, is available from Collective Inventions, P.O. Box 24411, San Jose, CA 95154. "As long as Solidarity could function effectively as a trade union, i.e., as long as it could deliver the working class, the party was ready to recognize Solidarity in its role of official opposition. When Solidarity could no longer completely control its constituency, and when certain of its leaders wanted more power vis-a-vis the state, it became expendable in the state's eyes. The ensuing 'Operation Three Circles,' moreover, was directed not only against Solidarity but against all those—workers, students, intellectuals—who might contest existing authority. Jaruzelski's coup has been less a move against Solidarity's trade unionist aspirations as it has one against those in Solidarity's rank and file who saw it as a mass movement of social transformation." —from the poster.

The July 1982 and August 1982 issues of *Emancipation*, the publication of the Anarchist Association of the Am-

erican Southwest, are available at \$1.00 per issue, \$5.00 for six issues. Alternative, 2033 rue St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. \$5 for six issues.

Issue No. 1 of *Apeiron: Paper of Libertarian Pagans* is available at \$1.00 per issue, or \$5.00 for six issues (no checks) from R. Yves Breton, C.P. 95 STN Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2Y 3E9.

**The Storm! A Journal for Free Spirits**, an anarchist-individualist publication, is available at \$1.00 for a single issue, \$2.00 for a double issue subscription, and \$4.00 for a five issue subscription. Make checks or money orders payable to Mark A. Sullivan (not to *The Storm!*). The address is Apt. 2E, 227 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10023 U.S.A.

**Black Thorn Books** announces their first five publications, including *The Russian Tragedy* by Alexander Berkman and *Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution* by Ricardo Flores Magon. Edited by Dave Poole. For a complete list of books and prices, write to Black Thorn Books, 186 Willow Avenue, Somerville, MA 02144 U.S.A. Phone: (617)666-1798.

**Orlando Indicator: The Official News** paper of the Great Conspiracy is an anarchist publication that "takes a surrealist approach to life...". To receive the next 12 Indicators, send \$3 and your address to R.K. Harrison, 2418 Formosa Ave., Orlando, Florida 32804.

**Resistance**, a publication about armed struggle groups, is available from Friends of Durruti, Box 790, Station 'A', Vancouver, B.C. Canada.

### Foreign anarchist/libertarian news and publications:

**Echanges No. 30**, May 1982 is out. This is the publication of *Echanges et Mouvement*, which "is, for a group of comrades sharing similar positions and in close contact with one another, a means of exchanging news in struggles, discussions and criticisms on all the struggles of all kinds carried out by those directly concerned for their own emancipation. It is therefore important that each recipient makes his own contribution to this end in exchange for what he expects from others." Six issues of the bulletin *Echanges* and two pamphlets (about 100 pages) cost 25 French Francs (or equivalent). You should request whether you want the French or English edition. They will accept cash in any currency (only bank notes) as payment.

For complete subscription information and a list of *Echanges* and other publications on social struggles, write to: *Echanges et Mouvement*, p/a Anneke van Ammelrooy, Eikbosweg 87, 1213 RT Hilversum, Holland.

**Practical Anarchy**, an interesting anarchist street sheet, and the **Paisley Gutterpress: Paisley's Most Negative Paper**, are both available c/o Box 3, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Glasgow.

# BOOK REVIEWS

In this general context, the narrative might have made mention of the periodic instances of whites joining Indians (or refusing repatriation following captivity by Indians). An early example was Thomas Morton of Merrymount, who found the unrestrained, playful life of the Algonquins more attractive than that of the Pur-

the U.S. what E.P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class* does for England regarding depth of historical treatment of the Industrial Revolution's arrival. Probably the closest is Norman Ware's *The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860* (1924), plus there are, recently, some excellent local studies, the best of which is proba-

quin more attractive than that of the Puritan, bringing to mind the 1679 dictum of Increase Mather: "People are ready to run wild into the woods again and to be as heathenish as ever, if you do not prevent it."<sup>4</sup>

Zinn notes that beginning with Bacon's Rebellion, there had been eighteen uprisings aimed at overthrowing colonial governments, six black rebellions, and forty riots "of various origins," by 1760. Demystifying such figures as Thomas Paine and Samuel Adams, as well as John Locke, the narrative provides a fine exposition of the American Independence movement in the chapter, "A Kind of Revolution." One is reminded here of Jesse Lemisch's important history—from the bottom-up work in the 1960s, especially concerning the radicalism of colonial sailors. Zinn has certainly extended this approach in his *People's History*, both in his commitment to telling the story of the oppressed classes as an accessible narrative whole and in his style of often quoting the so-often suppressed or ignored words of the individuals of those classes.

His next topic, however, women in the nineteenth century, while lively and vivid, is a bit lacking in coherence. The text supplies a welter of illustrations of victimization and resistance, almost at random from assorted decades. And the changes that were being rung in during the 1820s and 1830s, in terms of the experience of women and the family, are not discussed in terms of such dominant processes as the decisive acceleration of industrialization, but only vaguely linked to the observation that "the world outside was becoming harder, more commercial, more demanding." (These changes are discussed with much greater depth and precision in Carl Degler's *At Odds*,<sup>5</sup> which was not available to Zinn at the time.)

The "Jacksonian Democracy" era was an axial period in terms of basic questions of modern American politics and society. Behind the orthodox treatment of this period of the late 1820s and 1830s—the nonsense about democracy, rise of the common man, etc.—is the reality of great struggles and modernist modes of their suppression. Yet the genocide of the Cherokees, while obviously worthy of attention, is virtually the only aspect of the period that receives consideration. This is an example of Zinn's tendency toward an episodic and marginalist approach, to which I will return again.

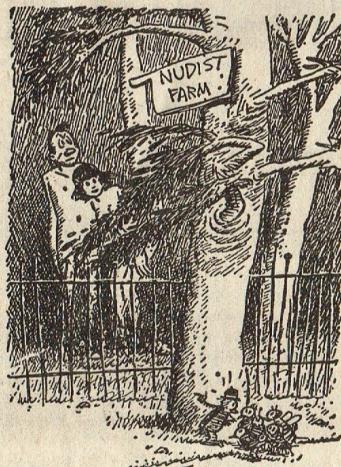
Disregarding the Owenite and religious phase of American utopian socialism, which was centered in the 1820s, we are left with the secular communitarian (largely Fourierist) efforts of the early and middle 1840s, which constituted a major national phenomenon. The scores of utopian experiments, urged on by Horace Gree-

local studies, the best of which is probably Anthony F.C. Wallace's *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (1978).

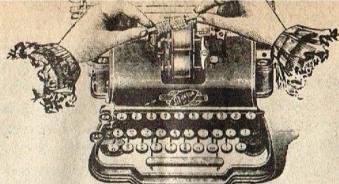
As Zinn seems to prefer focusing on the most submerged elements at any given time, his work tends to neglect the totality of development and to exhibit the episodic and often marginalist cast referred to above. Which is not to say that his book is not engaging, informative, passionate, and extremely well-written, not even to say that it isn't the best critical survey of American history available. But there is a neglect of process and structure and of the underlying socio-cultural matrix.<sup>6</sup>

One example is the absence of attention to education, a central mode of socialization. No mention of Horace Mann, the reproduction of the mythology of equality, the need to create a modern disciplined work force, no reference to works like Colin Greer's *The Great School Legend* (1972) or Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976).

Similarly, a book on domination and revolt would do well, one would think, to delve into the areas of popular culture and containing ideologies. To discuss—or at least mention—such topics as Horatio Alger, Social Darwinism, religious expression, spectator sports, etc. of the welter and web of American capitalism's evolving context, perhaps employing works like Daniel Rodgers' *The Work Ethic in Industrial America* (1978), Lawrence Chenevert's *The American Dream of Success* (1974), or Stewart Ewen's *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture* (1976).



ORGANIZING THE INSECTS  
For a Revolt Against Mankind  
(from ARCHY'S LIFE OF MEHITABEL, 1933)



The U.S. since 1920 occupies about 225 of the book's 600 pages, but the '20s receive short shrift indeed—5 pages. There are fewer than two lines on the Ku Klux Klan, the major social phenomenon of the decade with its sudden rise to a peak membership of almost 5 million members.<sup>14</sup> The '20s are described as a period of "mob violence and race hatred everywhere," however, which is somewhat misleading. Actually, race riots—compared with the immediate post-war years—had virtually disappeared, and lynchings declined very sharply from the early '20s on.

It is not surprising, given the space accorded to it, that standard works, like Frederick Lewis Allen's *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (1931), as well as recent ones, such as Paul Carter's *Another Part of the Twenties* (1977), are not included in the bibliography.

Arriving at the Great Depression of the '30s—which for some reason receives less attention than World War II—several questions about popular opposition arise. One question mark concerns the widespread passivity of the urban proletariat during the Depression. Many writers have compared the militancy of, say, farmers, miners, and lumberjacks (especially farmers) to workers in the industrial cities with some surprise,<sup>15</sup> a situation with obvious implications for Marxist theory, and one evidently undetected by Zinn.

Another difficulty arises in the matter of government recognition of unions. The text tells us more than once that big business opposed unions, but that the 1935 Wagner Act was passed to stabilize the system via federal assistance to union organizing. This puzzling description raises a basic question about the nature of the state, by ignoring evidence which depicts some corporations in the '30s as recognizing the rationalizing and disciplining role of industrial unionism in the face of a slowly-building worker initiative.<sup>16</sup>

A third problem in the area of '30s movements concerns Zinn's non-appraisal of the Communist Party. We are told that the CP led textile strikes in the late '20s, established councils of the unemployed, and organized against race discrimination, and further on that by "around 1960"

Continued on Page 7

*Issues of Emancipation*, the publication of the Anarchist Association of the Americas, has been received. The August issue, a special issue on "Marxism and Anarchism," contains, among the sterile debates on Marx's merits and demerits, interesting commentary by David De Vries on the indispensability of the writings of Jacques Camatte and Jean Baudrillard to a consideration of this question. Subscription rates to Emancipation are \$4.00 per year, or \$7.00 for two years. Their address is Emancipation, Box 840, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

The second issue (Summer 1982) of *Ideas and Action*, a new libertarian publication from San Francisco, is now available. Their address is Ideas and Action, P.O. Box 40400, San Francisco, CA 94110. The current issue includes in-depth articles on Poland and El Salvador, as well as articles on worker concessions in industry and a discussion of the role of libertarian minorities in the workplace struggle.

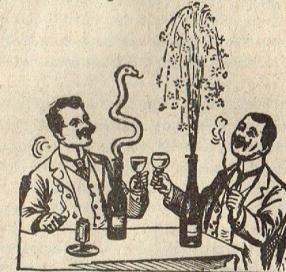
The North American Anarchist Network announces to prospective participants in their network that they should "Take 50 copies of whatever you wish to share and send them, with an optional donation (\$2-\$3 suggested) to P.O. Box 18488, Denver, CO 80218, U.S.A. We will collate all subscriptions and mail them back out again so that everyone receives a copy of everyone else's submission. The NAAN collective exercises no editorial control whatsoever. All submissions received by us are included in the mailing. NAAN is collated and mailed quarterly. The deadlines are February 1st, May 1st, August 1st, and November 1st. For a sample copy, please send us a donation along with a letter expressing your wishes. Let's all keep in touch!"

The always amusing *SRAF Federation Bulletin*, the discussion bulletin of the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, is now out. This is their 76th issue, dated September, 1982. That well-known "anarchist" anti-Semite Joffrey Stewart, whose insane diatribes have graced the pages of the Bulletin for a number of years now, is a big topic of conversation in the current issue. Although nobody is preventing Joffrey from publishing or verbalizing his idiotic ravings to anyone stupid enough to listen, the liberals in the SRAF Federation insist upon aiding and abetting Stewart by providing a forum for him, in the name of freedom of speech. Does free speech mean I have to let a Nazi stand on my shoulders and use me as a soapbox? The Bulletin is available from SRAF, P.O. Box 21071, Washington, D.C. 20009.

A special issue of *Vortex: A Journal of New Vision* featuring the article "Anarchy: The Inner Voice" is available from Bound Together Books, 1901 Hayes, San Francisco, CA 94117.

The Groupe Thoreau, composed of anti-authoritarian pacifists, publishes *Civil Disobedience*, a newsletter available from Groupe Thoreau, a/s Librairie

Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow, Scotland. Also from the same address are some great flyers, including an anti-automobile flyer that announces that "a movement of discontent is growing, beyond the control of any political party or union bureaucracy. And when that movement shows itself in the factories, it will be a whole new ball game..."



The A Gallery, P.O. Box 1937, Thission, Athens, Greece, is an anarchist multimedia center in Athens. They would like to receive copies of newspapers, flyers, magazines, posters, etc. on anarchism, feminism, ecology, anti-militarism, alternative lifestyles, etc. They could also use money.

Red Notes has just published *The Italian Inquisition*, a pamphlet about the show-trial of the Italian Workers Autonomous movement. It is available for 40 pence + 17 pence postage (or equivalent) from Red Notes, B.P. 15, 2a St. Paul's Road, London N1, England.

#### Prisoner news and publications:

We regret to inform you that *Black Market Books*, a free prisoner book service, has been discontinued. *Left Bank Books* is now sponsoring a "Books for Prisoners" project, however. Prisoners, and anyone on the outside interested in donating books or money, can write: Books for Prisoners, Box A, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101.

We recently received the July-August 1982 issue of *Through the Looking Glass*, a monthly newsletter that focuses on women and youth incarcerated in the Pacific Northwest and throughout the world. Their address is Box 22061, Seattle, WA 98122.

The Committee to Abolish Prison Slavery announces publication of their book *Prison Slavery*, which provides documented evidence and prisoner testimony in support of deleting the exception for slavery found within the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. The book costs \$12.95 per copy. Send orders to Committee to Abolish Prison Slavery, P.O. Box 3207, Dept. CML, Washington, DC. 20010.

## BOOKS ON RUSSIAN &amp; HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONS

November is the 65th anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and of the Bolshevik counter-revolution. The same month is the 26th anniversary of the Hungarian rebellion of 1956.

BOLSHEVIKS & WORKERS CONTROL  
by Maurice Brinton

An excellent chronology and analysis of the Bolshevik betrayal of the revolution from the seizure of the factories to the crushing of the Kronstadt Commune.

Black & Red 100pp. \$1.95

## HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT by Peter Arshinov

Exciting account of the anarchist/communist peasant revolution in the Ukraine, with telling revelations about the nature of Bolshevik military and social policy.

Black & Red 284pp. \$2.95

## A CRITIQUE OF STATE SOCIALISM

by Richard Warren and Michael Bakunin

A large format comic which intersperses classic Bakunin quotes with a fast-paced history of socialism from Babeuf's Conspiracy through the Bolshevik counter-revolution up until the current day crop of leftist and would-be rulers. As a little cartoon figure says on the cover, "What a boring title . . .," but it masks a thoughtful, informative, and utterly devastating critique of state socialism, much of it out of the mouths of socialist politicians themselves. Cienfuegos Press 44 pages \$2.95

## THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY

by Alexander Berkman

Two years in his native Russia provided both the background material for this analysis of the revolution and its betrayal by the communists. Contains three articles, originally published separately as pamphlets in 1922, "The Russian Tragedy," "The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party," and "The Kronstadt Rebellion."

Cienfuegos Press 112 pp. \$4.50

THE POVERTY OF STATISM: A DEBATE  
by Fabbri, Rocker, Bukharin

Contains Nikolai Bukharin's officially-sponsored attack on anarchism published in the Soviet Union in 1922, and Luigi Fabbri's reply published in Italy the same year. Also, two articles by Rudolf Rocker, "Anarchism and Sovietism," and "Marx and Anarchism."

Cienfuegos Press \$3.50

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK  
by Gregory Petrovich Maximoff

Develops the theme that the Stalinist terror of the 1930's, the bureaucratisation of Russian society, the imperialist escapades, through to today's lack of human rights in Russia and other East European countries are not aberrations in the development of socialist society, but rather a logical development in marxist philosophy and action. It serves one main purpose: "to dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror."

Black Thorn Books 337 pp. \$9.20

## HUNGARY '56

by Andy Anderson

"All workers, socialists, even communists, must at last understand that a bureaucratic state has nothing to do with Socialism." (Nemzet, 15 January 1957)



## FE BOOKSTORE

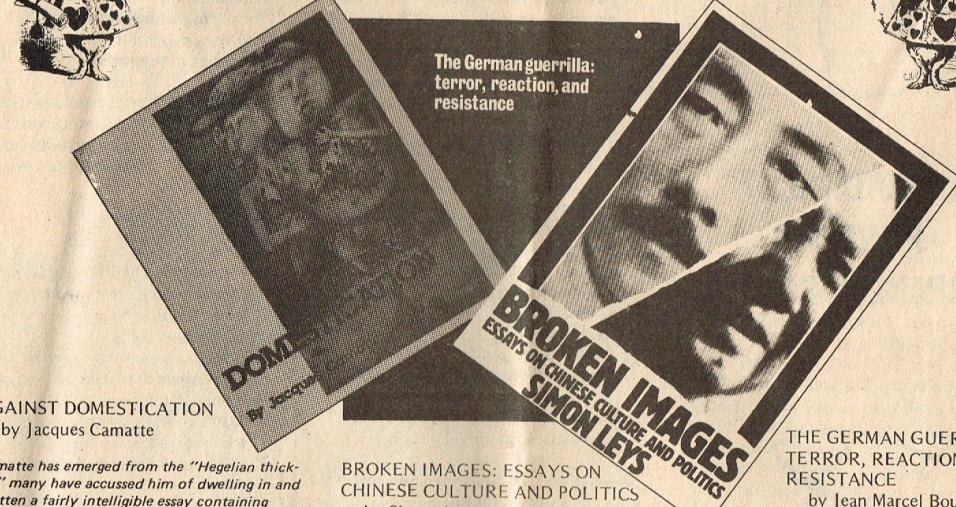
The FE BOOKSERVICE is located in the same place as the Fifth Estate Newspaper, both of which are located at 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit MI 48201—telephone (313) 831-6800. The hours we are open vary considerably, so it's always best to give us a call before coming down.

## HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL:

- 1) List the title of the book, quantity wanted, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing—not less than \$.63 (which is the minimum charge for 4th Class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write all checks or money orders to: The Fifth Estate. Mail to Fifth Estate Books, 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit MI 48201.



## NEW ARRIVALS

AGAINST DOMESTICATION  
by Jacques Camatte

Camatte has emerged from the "Hegelian thickets" many have accused him of dwelling in and written a fairly intelligible essay containing many of his basic themes: the domestication of humans by capital, repressive consciousness, the superfluosity of the proletariat, establishment of a human community and others. Several of us who have read it recommend it to those interested in what constitutes at least a portion of the theoretical underpinnings of the Fifth Estate.

Black Thumb 24 pages \$1.50

## TELOS: A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF RADICAL THOUGHT

No. 51 Spring 1982  
No. 52 Summer 1982

These people are as behind schedule as the FE! Both issues have appeared since we last published with the Summer number having arrived in late September. No. 51 is an excellent issue on the European peace movement and the Polish crisis. Also "Black Market Technology in the USSR" and "Facing the War Psychosis," more comments on the controversial Castoriadis article. Plus many reviews, notes and other comments. No. 52 is a "Special Issue on Social Movements" with a special section on "Ecology and the Welfare State," plus other reviews, notes and commentaries.

240 pp. each \$5.00 each

## BACK IN STOCK!

## LOVE &amp; RAGE: ENTRIES IN A PRISON DIARY by Carl Harp

*Since his death at the hands of the prison officials, these writings take on an even more powerful meaning. The title of the book is appropriate—Carl oscillated between feelings of inspiration and solidarity on the one hand, and near despair and outrage on the other. Not surprising: you come away from this slim volume wondering how anyone could maintain any spirit at all in the face of such absolute degradation and injustice, let alone reflect upon it and write it down.*

Pulp Press 73pp. \$3.95

## GOD &amp; THE STATE

by Michael Bakunin

Bakunin's classic work with a new introduction and index of persons by Paul Avrich. Dover 89pp. \$2.50

## THE PEOPLE ARMED: DURRUTI

by Abel Paz

An exciting biography of a worker who becomes a pistolero for the anarchist movement: robbing banks and assassinating politicians. When the Spanish revolution commences Durruti serves as a militia leader until his untimely death.

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## ALSO NEW

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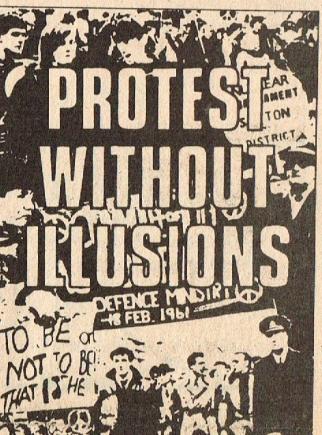
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Telos Press \$5.00

**TELOS NUMBER 50 (Winter 1981-82)**

Contains another "Special Symposium," this one on "The Role of Intellectuals in the 1980's," as well as "The Roots of Re-Armament" which contains a brief rebuttal of Castoriadis and an interesting discussion of the European disarmament movement, "Empire vs. Civil Society: Poland 1981-81" by Andrew Arato and John Zerzan's "Anti-Work and the Struggle for Control" and Tim Luke's rebuttal which also appear in the *Fifth Estate*.  
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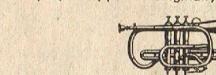
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**OUR ROOTS ARE STILL ALIVE: THE STORY OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**

by The Peoples Press Palestine Book Project

Although flawed politically by its leftist fawning before Arab nationalism and the PLO, the book's solid data regarding the sordid history of Zionism and its effects on the Palestinians far outweighs the defects. Even left and labor Zionism appears as reactionary when presented here.  
180 The Guardian 180 \$5.95



**PROTEST WITHOUT ILLUSIONS**

by Vernon Richards  
This excellent collection contains many articles written for the anarchist journal *Freedom* by a participant in the sit-downs and marches against the Bomb in England during the late '50's and early '60's. This is anything but dry history, since while the author commented on the events of the day he raised important criticisms and discussions on the nature of the activity taking place, discussions which have a direct relationship to the questions facing those of us who oppose the nuclear state today: the problem of the media, the notion of pressure groups which attempt to influence the activities of the state, the problem of organizing around fear of war rather than a vision of a new society, the political illusion, etc. This book should be read by all who are interested in this question. "There are no short cuts to peace. There are no compromises solutions between the rulers and the ruled. The day when we will be in a position to influence government we shall also have the strength to dispense with governments. Until we can put short term prospects in their proper perspective we shall continue to overlook the long term aims which alone can ensure a world at peace . . ." (1959)  
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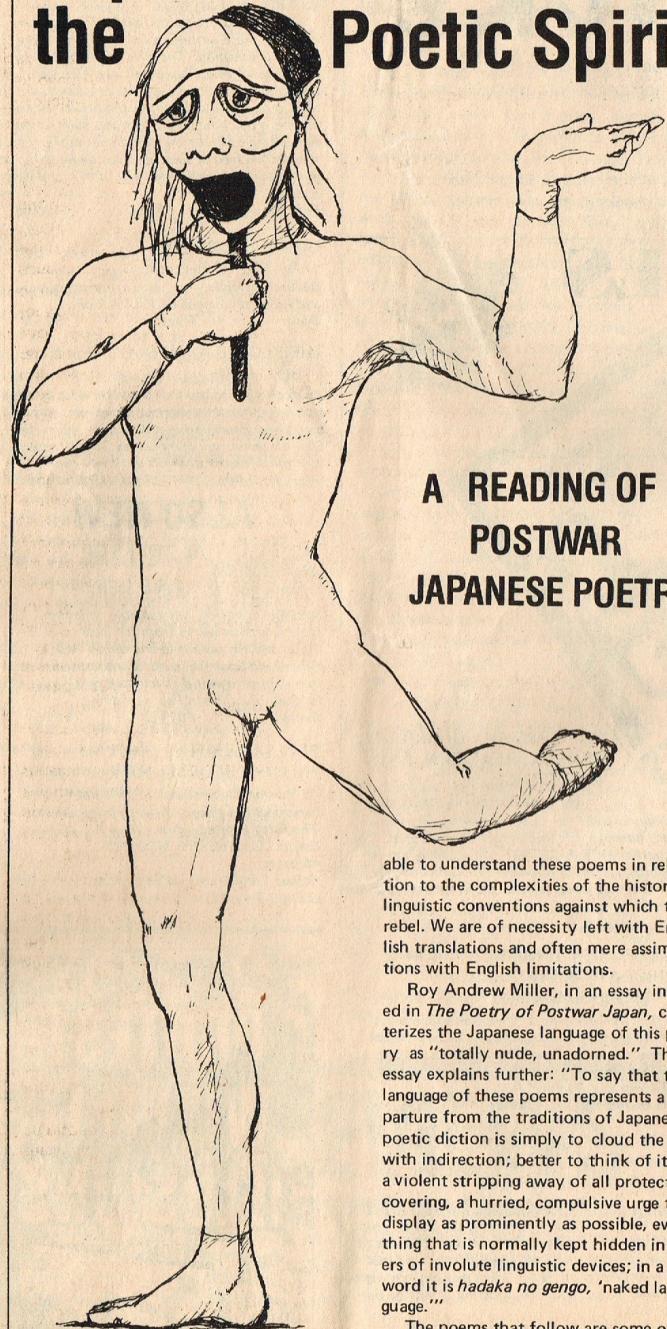
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# Impact of the Bomb on the Poetic Spirit



## A READING OF POSTWAR JAPANESE POETRY

able to understand these poems in relation to the complexities of the historical linguistic conventions against which they rebel. We are of necessity left with English translations and often mere assimilations with English limitations.

Roy Andrew Miller, in an essay included in *The Poetry of Postwar Japan*, characterizes the Japanese language of this poetry as "totally nude, unadorned." The essay explains further: "To say that the language of these poems represents a departure from the traditions of Japanese poetic diction is simply to cloud the issue with indirection; better to think of it as a violent stripping away of all protective covering, a hurried, compulsive urge to display as prominently as possible, everything that is normally kept hidden in layers of involute linguistic devices; in a word it is *hadaka no gengo*, 'naked language.'"

The poems that follow are some of those poems selected from the two anthologies cited above which obviously deal with the subject of the bomb; but

"Hand of Death" by Hasegawa Ryusei seems to focus on a future bombing with similarly devastating conclusions. The specific time and circumstances become irrelevant details. The bitterly ironic tone exposes the uselessness, the tenuousness of modern society.

So there's a boy.  
But his dream is rejected.  
On the great overhead railway  
a large bridge is a rainbow.  
Broken in two places  
its ends emerge touching skyscrapers.  
Skyscrapers of many cylinders.  
Smooth rings of light flow out of them.  
The helicopters which take off at night,  
canals linked together,  
steamships which glide over the land,  
a plan for an underground factory—  
all these are beaten flat  
quite easily.  
The boy closes the thin Japanese  
science magazine of 1998.  
What place is this?  
The mirror reversing in the boy's  
small brain  
throws light on reality at a 180  
degree angle.  
Everything is too damp;  
even pus seeps from the dried skin of  
his father's corpse.  
The limping boy folds his father's body  
in thirds,  
puts it in a box,  
takes it down the dark stairs,  
ties it on the back of his rattling  
bicycle  
and carries it off at night  
to the place of burning.

"Revelations" by Kihara Koichi creates the vision of a world nullified by chemical poisons which has become a truer picture of our present environment.

*A woman died with thousands of others in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 leaving behind her on this earth only a rag of skin but on which the victim's face clearly appeared.*

I no longer possess the face of a human being  
I am fixed to a fragment of gauze  
But that does not stop me from screaming!

Between my teeth uranium lies hidden  
In the depths of my nostrils plutonium  
worms its way  
At the back of my sightless eyes helium  
glares  
The world now is no more than a small  
rock soaked with the downpours of  
raging poisons!

I am a tatter of a burnt human creature  
Tranced on this fragment of gauze  
From beyond the horizon I hear my  
lost remains calling to me

What your humanity has been turned  
into

You are remembering  
Simply remembering  
Those who until this morning were  
Your fathers mothers brothers sisters  
(Would any of them recognize you now  
if they met you)  
Remembering your homes where you  
used to sleep wake eat  
(In a single flash all the flowers on their  
hedges were blasted  
And no one knows where their ashes  
lie)  
Remembering remembering  
Here with your fellow-creatures who  
one by one gradually moving  
Remembering  
Those days when  
You were daughters  
Daughters of humankind.

In "The Night," Toge Sankichi portrays the city of Hiroshima as emblematic of a civilization spent, wasted, abandoned to parasites, a civilization which has insanely betrayed itself.

Eyes aching  
Brimming  
In the swarming lights of Hiroshima  
Everywhere the swollen scars  
On shiny keloid skin  
Wet streaks writhing  
Muddy mazes stinking of decay  
Blasted trunks dotted with flabby buds  
And sunk in the drizzling rain  
Women's eyes redder than the fires of  
their cigarettes  
Their branded thighs laid open to the  
view.

O Hiroshima  
Sterile erection shattered by an atomic  
bomb  
Women are barren  
Men shoot listless sperm  
While in that resplendent area of  
leasehold land  
The bowers of Hijiyama Park  
The tail-light of a gliding limousine is  
being born  
From the arc lamps of the A-Bomb  
Casualty Survey Centre  
In the air of night  
That throbs with New Mexican jazz.

(In window-frames across the river  
Feral women are languorously stretching  
Removing their petals  
Discarding their pistols  
As they make ready for nightwork.)

On the roof of the station cradling  
blinded trains  
Mindless characters are spilling from  
the electric newsflash  
Telling of second, third, hundredth  
A-bomb tests  
To the blinding

The big station clock obliterated  
buried in fires from chimneys  
Fire-cargoed ships sailing in and  
sailing out from the piers  
And with sudden soundless hoots of  
fire  
Desperate expresses dragging forth  
primroses of fire  
Women nestling the fire of pus in their  
crotches  
And when a foreigner walks by striking  
his lighter  
Many beggars in black scuttle after  
him for alms of fire  
Behold that man scavenging a fire-  
tipped cigarette end over there.

Always we live with this glaring vision  
of a fire that  
Never dies  
Never is extinguished  
And is there any one of us who could  
deny  
That all of us are already all on fire?

At night, above the floods of radiant  
lights  
the sheet upon sheet of dazzling neon  
I sense a sea of flames heaving up into  
The dark tunnels of the midnight skies  
Thronged with our disfigured brothers  
Feet upon feet hands upon hands  
All blood and licked by the cruel  
tongues of fire  
Splintered brains  
Galaxies burning at the stake

Collapsing  
In roses of fire in blue bowers of sparks  
Whirling gales of firestorms  
Out of darkness screaming  
Indignation regret resentment grief  
Curses hatred pleadings wailings  
Until all these moaning voices stream  
from the earth into the sky.  
No longer are we what we used to be,  
ourselves, but other beings  
With our own bodies still, but with a  
burning stink,  
With peeled skins bald heads we go  
Branded with all the marks of the  
Atomic Tribe  
Humans bereft of the right to live as  
humans.  
Now even a test on some lagoon in the  
farthest reaches of the oceans  
Makes us jump  
For we know each bomb is hanging on  
its parachute of blackness  
Over our melting-pot.

Watch the way the tongueless flames  
are dancing  
The lungless tongues are writhing  
Teeth piercing lips  
Lips spouting liquid fire  
And how these voiceless fires storm  
through all the earth to bring  
A blazing Hiroshima to London  
A blasting Hiroshima to New York

Kiyoko Higuchi, University of Iowa

Press, 1975.

Modern Japanese Poetry, translated by James Kirkup and edited by A.R. Davis. University of Queensland Press, 1978.

War poetry is significantly characteristic of this century. Because the poet's voice is inherently a human voice, poets throughout the world have felt a weighted responsibility to react to that which threatens to destroy humankind and to protest against the inhuman force of modern warfare—from the ruthless use of asfixiating gas during World War I to the massive unleashing of bombs during World War II.

After the firebombings of Tokyo and numerous other Japanese cities, and after the atomic blasts on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a devastated Japan responded with a new kind of poetry—bomb poetry. This poetry first emerges as an attempt to deal with the insurmountable trauma, but quickly becomes an enraged scream of protest. It is poetry of horrible beauty and unfailing strength that demands a re-statement of the world's humanity. In the power and energy of its anger, this poetry is ultimately life-affirming.

A group of poets, the "Arechi," appeared just after the war and is clearly representative of this first postwar decade. Their name, Arechi, which means "wasteland," was chosen as an obvious allusion to T.S. Eliot's poem, but also because the word itself described so aptly the physical and emotional state of Japan after the firebombings and the atom bombs. In spite of the unspeakable suffering and monstrous atrocity that everywhere surrounded and consumed them, they consciously attempted to grasp the last threads of hope. A.R. Davis quotes from the introduction to their first anthology: "The escape from destruction, the protest against ruin are our will to rebel against our own fate and are also testimony to our existence. If there is to be a future for us and for you it depends on our not despairing of our present life." It was the obsessive concern of the Arechi poets and of subsequent groups (the "Kai"—Oars, and the "Retto"—Archipelago) along with numerous other individual poets, to express the anguish, despair, outrage, and finally the hope of the victimized people of Japan.

Because we must rely on English translations, of which there are relatively few available, it is important that we be aware of one crucial characteristic of this poetry in its original Japanese. These poets needed a new language to express the profundity of their feelings, and they broke sharply with the conventional language of traditional Japanese poetry. One who speaks and reads Japanese would be

deal with the subject of the bomb; but the impact of the bomb and other instruments of modern warfare is evidenced in countless other poems—many of which are seemingly unrelated to the issue. Subtle images that twist and turn and jolt the reader's senses are present throughout the poetry of this period. The impact of war is pervasive and multi-leveled.

"The Myth of Hiroshima" by Saga Nobuyuki expresses the betrayal of the victims, not that they died, but that they died inhuman, unnatural, scientific deaths.

What are they looking for,  
running to the summit of lost time?  
Hundreds of people vaporized instantly  
are walking in mid-air.

"We didn't die."

"We skipped over death in a flash and  
became spirits."

"Give us a real, human death."

One man's shadow among hundreds is  
branded on stone steps.

"Why am I imprisoned in stone?"  
"Where did my flesh go, separated  
from its shadow?"  
"What must I wait for?"

The 20th century myth is stamped  
with fire.

Who will free this shadow from the  
stone?

In "Cocoon" by Ishigaki Rin we are struck with the fragility of nature in a time defined by the reality and the threat of the bomb. The power and the diversity of the earth is negated and the poet very simply shrinks the image of our world down to a small, concrete, microcosmic detail of nature:

It isn't that the threat of the bomb is  
great  
but that the earth is small.

The silkworm eats  
the mulberry leaves,  
someone feeds on the world.  
Who is gaining weight—a country or  
an ism?  
(Anyway, not one of us.)

Look  
something like thread  
goes up in the air  
something like smoke from a volcano  
solidly surrounds the earth  
and by the time it becomes a perfect  
cocoon  
the chrysalis inside is killed.  
What's left is an inch of silk.

From beyond the horizon I hear my  
lost remains calling to me  
Look! Clouds of uranium drive down  
upon dark seas and shores  
Listen! Rains of helium are drumming  
on dumb windows and roofs  
But sons of men! Do not let those hands  
of yours destroy mankind  
All living creatures are now nothing but  
plagues of locusts  
Moving on uncheked into the  
waste lands

The poet Toge Sankichi was in Hiroshima at the time the atom bomb was dropped. He was a victim of radiation sickness and died in 1953 at the age of thirty-six. His poems are a dire testament to the horrors he witnessed and experienced. One may note a certain poetic distance in some of the previous poems; there is no such distance here. "At a First Aid Post" is directed to the women victims of Hiroshima.

You  
Who have no channels for tears when  
you weep  
No lips through which words can issue  
when you howl  
No skin for your fingers to grip with  
when you writhe in torment  
You

Your squirming limbs all smeared with  
blood and slimy sweat and lymph  
Between your closed lids the glaring  
eyeballs show only a thread of  
white  
On your pale swollen bellies only the  
perished elastic that held up your  
drawers  
You who can no longer feel shame at  
exposing your sheltered sex  
O who could believe that  
Only minutes ago  
You were all schoolgirls fresh and  
appealing

In scorched and raw Hiroshima  
Out of dark shuddering flames  
You no longer the human creatures  
you had been  
Scrambled and crawled one after the  
other  
Dragged yourselves along as far as this  
open ground  
To bury in the dusts of agony  
Your frizzled hair on skulls almost bare  
as heads of Buddhist saints

Why should you have to suffer like this  
Why suffer like this  
What is the reason  
What reason  
And you  
Do not know  
How you look nor

A-bomb tests  
To the bleeding apparition of a  
drunkard  
Shambling away out of nowhere  
The lank shadow of a soldier rising—  
In a boat scraping the rocks of the black  
river  
When the tide of evening floods the  
banks  
Effacing the footprints left by scrap-  
metal pickers.

Listen  
Dark-blue flutterings disturb the heavens  
Across the night towards the dawn  
Or from the dawn towards the night  
Over Hiroshima's leprosy map of lights  
Some hanging in the distance  
Some suspended suspended half-way  
Some trying fearfully to forget  
Some desperately seething  
Some trembling  
Some dying  
Crawling on their own blood  
Retreading from the doomed memory  
The sad nebulae of Hiroshima  
Mute and sunken in  
The darkness of history.

One last poem by Toge Sankichi, "The Vision," contains an incredible sense of foreboding. It is essentially a terrifying and urgent warning to the future—to all of us.

Always we have this burning vision:  
A city on the delta of some volcanic  
island, where  
The windows of buildings are blazing  
with colorless flames of fire  
Traffic signals trapping fire-robed  
refugees and then  
Releasing them again

A blasting Hiroshima to New York  
An incandescent Hiroshima to Moscow  
Watch how the voiceless fires go dancing  
round the world  
With gestures of pain and indignation.  
Yes, we are all fires blazing with the  
vision that we fuel  
Like forests of furnace fire  
Like seas of liquid fire  
Lapping the earth in flame and fever.

Yes, we are nothing but a mad mass of  
fire  
Blazing passionately against the next  
scheme  
Of the devils of nuclear holocaust.

These poems evidence the remarkable strength of the human spirit. By confronting the reality of genocide, by looking at the physical mutations of the victims, by writing these poems, the poet fights back and lives. But there is an important contradiction here—a tenuous link between two opposing truths; these poets at once reflect the strength and the fragility of the earth and of the human bodies they seek to protect. It is miraculous that some of these people survived to fight back. The compulsive militarism of the present age, the threat of hundreds and thousands of Hiroshimas and Nagasakis, erodes the life forces within us. If the threat continues, if the world experiences even a fraction more of that horror, if—as our foolish military experts assure us—there can be survivors of a nuclear confrontation, if all our poetry becomes a dirge, a morbid lamentation, then the spirit of the survivors will become like the bodies of the victims, and we will be caught in an irreversible cycle of despair.

—M.R.

